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NAPOLEON IN EXILE AT ST. HELENA (1815-1821)

NORWOOD YOUNG

NAPOLEON
IN EXILE: ST. HELENA

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

NAPOLEON IN EXILE: ELBA (1814-1815)

By NORWOOD YOUNG
Author of "The Growth of Napoleon," etc.

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By A. M. BROADLEY

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LONGWOOD IN 1817

From a water-colour sketch by Basil Jackson, with figures of Napoleon, Bertrand, and Gourgaud by Denzil Ibbetson. From the original in possession of Earl Bathurst

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NAPOLEON
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: : : (1815–1821) : : :
BY NORWOOD YOUNG

AUTHOR OF "NAPOLEON IN EXILE: ELBA"; "THE GROWTH OF NAPOLEON"; ETC.

WITH TWO COLOURED FRONTISPIECES
& ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS MAINLY
FROM THE COLLECTION OF A. M. BROADLEY

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Yes, where is he, the champion and the child
Of all that's great or little, wise or wild,
Whose game was empires and whose stakes were thrones,
Whose table earth, whose dice were human bones?
Behold the grand result, in yon lone isle,
And, as thy nature urges, weep or smile.

BYRON.

PREFACE

SIR HUDSON LOWE left behind him a very large collection of papers relating to his public career. Twenty-two volumes have found their way into the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. One hundred and thirty-five rest in the British Museum. Of these, ninety deal with the St. Helena Governorship. They contain Lowe's correspondence with Lord Bathurst; with the Naval Commanders and other high officials in England, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and elsewhere; with the Foreign Commissioners at St. Helena; and with Napoleon and his followers; the official orders and proclamations; the reports of officers, military and civil; a large number of letters exchanged between the various officials; and the accounts, lists, pay-sheets, and other official documents. The collection contains documents unfavourable to Sir Hudson Lowe, and many which are of no permanent interest.

This immense mass of first-hand evidence was made the basis for Forsyth's defence of Lowe, published in 1853. In addition there are at the Record Office twenty-nine volumes of reports and other official documents bearing upon Napoleon's detention at St. Helena.

When Forsyth wrote, very little contemporary evidence had been published. The works of O'Meara, Las Cases, Antommarchi, and Montholon, though based upon diaries, were issued after the death of Napoleon, and bear clear evidence of having been prepared with a definite object. We have to turn to them for information as to what went on in the interior of Longwood, but on all controversial subjects they are tainted with deliberate misrepresentation and

falsehood. Apart from that disfigurement, such worked-up material cannot compare in authority with the contemporary records. Even honest reminiscences, such as those of Mrs. Abell, surgeon Henry, chaplain Vernon, the Countess of Montholon, and others, which were written after a lapse of time, have to be read with discrimination.

Forsyth had to rely upon the Lowe manuscripts for most of his facts. Since his day, a quantity of valuable original matter has become available. Extracts from the reports of the Foreign Commissioners to their Courts have been published; and we have had the diary of Lady Malcolm, the private journal of General Gourgaud, and the letters exchanged between Count and Countess Montholon; and a number of letters from British officers have appeared in various magazines. All this is strictly contemporary evidence, taking rank with the documents in the British Museum and Record Office. It is upon these original sources that the story must be based.

A personal acquaintance with the island of St. Helena, and in particular with the house in which Napoleon lived and the grounds in its neighbourhood, is very important for a proper understanding of the Napoleonic detention. Accompanied by Mr. Graham Balfour, the author of the "Life of R. L. Stevenson," I have spent five weeks in the house that was built for General Bertrand and his family, at Longwood, in 1816. It stands within 118 yards of Napoleon's house, according to our measurement of the distance with a tape. Napoleon's house is now only half its former size; the gardens have disappeared; the wood has been cleared away; there is no camp of red-coated soldiers in the distance. But, in other respects, the scene has not changed, and the five weeks at Longwood have proved of immense value to me, clearing away difficulties and giving a familiarity with the conditions, upon which alone a confident judgment can be founded.

I have to thank Monsieur Roger, the French Consul, who

is in charge of Longwood House and the Tomb, for the plan of New Longwood; the Hon. W. J. Arnold, Colonial Surgeon at St. Helena, for information about the climate; and our host Mr. James Deason, who with his brother, Mr. Fred Deason, farms the Longwood estate, for ready advice and assistance at all times.

The Earl of Bathurst has lent me, for reproduction, the contemporary water-colour of Longwood House, by Basil Jackson, which is in his possession.

The late Earl of Crawford gave me permission to examine, at my leisure, his large collection of Napoleonic manuscripts. The present Earl of Crawford has kindly allowed me to reproduce the pencilled note, made by Dr. Arnott, announcing the death of Napoleon.

The bulk of the illustrations have been furnished by Mr. A. M. Broadley from his well-known collection, which is especially rich in prints and caricatures. Mr. Broadley has also placed at my disposal his manuscripts and his remarkable library of works dealing with the St. Helena captivity.

Dr. J. F. Silk has been most kind in permitting me to make use of some of the prints in his large collection.

I have to thank Mr. Graham Balfour for the excellent photographs, which were taken by him on the occasion of our visit, in February, 1914. Mr. Balfour has also drawn for this book the plan of Bertrand's house, the first yet published. His criticisms and suggestions, made on the spot, have been of the greatest service to me.

Dr. Arnold Chaplin has given me the benefit of his professional advice, and he has read the proofs; but he is not to be regarded as responsible for, or as endorsing, anything in this book. Dr. Chaplin's study of the manuscripts in the British Museum and Record Office, and his researches into the careers of the various personages who stood on the St. Helena stage, have made him an exceptional authority, and I am most grateful to him for the generous manner in which he has placed his knowledge at my disposal. By

ingenious and painstaking enquiries Dr. Arnold Chaplin has discovered a number of portraits of St. Helena celebrities. He has kindly given me leave to reproduce some of them from his indispensable vade-mecum, "A St. Helena Who's Who," 1914. The portraits of Dr. Wilks and Dr. Baxter were provided by Dr. J. F. Silk, the great-nephew of Dr. Baxter; that of Sir Thomas Reade came from Mr. Alleyn Reade; of Major Gorrequer from Mr. G. de Gorrequer Griffith; of Captain Ross from his godson Admiral F. R. Boardman, C.B.; of William Balcombe from his granddaughter Mrs. Emmerton; of Admiral Plampin from his nephew Mr. Orbell W. Oakes; of Dr. Shortt from his grandson Major A. G. Shortt; of Dr. Burton from his granddaughter Mrs. Agg; of Dr. Arnott from his niece Mrs. Arnott Collington. Dr. Chaplin has also furnished me with the coloured frontispiece to the second volume, from a picture in his possession.

Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson, the first writer, since Forsyth, to undertake a serious examination of the Lowe manuscripts —a laborious task—has helped me in various ways. I have also to thank Major Smyth, M.V.O., for assistance with regard to the 20th Regiment, now the Lancashire Fusiliers.

References to the Lowe manuscripts are given under the heading B.M. (British Museum).

The precursor of this work, "Napoleon in Exile: Elba," was published on the 31st March, 1914, one hundred years after the event with which it commenced, the entry of the Allies into Paris on the 31st March, 1814. These volumes, in like manner, are published on the 1st March, 1915, the centenary of the opening point, the landing of Napoleon near Cannes, on the 1st March, 1815.

NORWOOD YOUNG.

1st March, 1915.

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NAPOLEON
IN EXILE: ST. HELENA

CHAPTER I

THE OUTLAW

ON the 1st March, 1815, just a hundred years ago, Napoleon returned from his exile at Elba, and placed his foot once more on the soil of France. He had brought with him from his island kingdom 600 men of the Old Guard, 100 Polish Lancers, and 300 Corsicans; 1000 soldiers in all, besides his suite of civilians. They were encamped on the beach near Cannes. With this force Napoleon was making war upon the Government of Louis XVIII.

At midnight the march to Paris commenced. The route was across the mountains to Grenoble. By 8 p.m. of the 2nd March, in twenty hours, thirty-one miles of hilly country had been covered. A little further, at Castellane, Cambronne, who marched at the head of a small advance guard, demanded from the sub-prefect, in the name of "the Emperor," five thousand rations of bread, meat, and wine, with mules and carts. These supplies were, after some hesitation, given. The adventurers marched on, reached Digue in the afternoon of the 4th, and Cambronne obtained command of the important bridge over the river Durance at Sisteron, at 1 a.m. of the 5th. The force sent from

Marseilles by Masséna to seize the bridge, arrived two days late.

Napoleon arrived at Sisteron before noon on the 5th. He was well received. He rested the night at Gap. The inhabitants welcomed him there with enthusiasm. The people of Dauphiné were with him. It was in Dauphiné that the Revolution had commenced, and it was as a support against Royalty and Privilege, as a Jacobin, that Napoleon was now being welcomed.

On the 6th he rested at Corps, one march from Grenoble. On the 7th he went forward in a carriage, in the midst of his Guard, followed by the Corsicans, towards Grenoble; a crowd of fifteen hundred persons accompanied him, crying, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Grenoble was the head-quarters of a military division commanded by General Marchand, who had already been warned of the approach of Napoleon. He sent out the 5th Regiment of the line to stop the adventurer. Napoleon walked straight up to the soldiers, at the head of his Old Guard. A captain cried out, "There he is. Fire!" but no shot followed. Napoleon stepped forward. "Soldiers of the 5th of the line," he said in a steady, firm voice, "I am your Emperor. You recognize me." Then, advancing a pace or two farther, he opened his overcoat, and said, "If there is among you a soldier who wants to kill his Emperor, here I am." This appeal, with the busbies of the famous Guard in the background, was overpowering. Cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" rent the air, and the soldiers crowded round their old leader. This was the only critical moment in the march upon Paris. The plebs had been with Napoleon from the first, and now he was assured of the army. La Bédoyère brought out from the town the 7th Regiment, to welcome Napoleon, who entered Grenoble in the evening, without opposition. He said afterwards, at St. Helena, "Before reaching Grenoble I was an adventurer; arrived there I was a Prince."

His progress thenceforth was triumphant, escorted at

NAPOLEON'S RECEPTION BY THE 7TH REGIMENT AT GRENOBLE

From a print by Jazet, after Steuben

every step by crowds of peasants, and joined by every regiment that was met. At Lyon, reached on the 10th, he was received with acclamation. There he was once more the Emperor.

At Lyon the Emperor issued a number of decrees. He abolished the old nobility and all feudal titles, disbanded the Swiss regiments and the Maison du Roi—the military guard of Louis XVIII—and banished all the *émigrés* who had returned to France under the Bourbon *rule;* he abolished the Chamber of Peers, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and convoked the electoral colleges of the Empire at an Extraordinary Assembly to be called the *Champ de mai.* These measures, which seemed to presage a return to the Revolution, responded to the cries that had met him everywhere on the route; mingled with "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were "*A bas les prêtres! A bas les nobles! Mort aux Royalistes! A l'échafaud les Bourbons!*"[1] Napoleon was returning to France as a Jacobin general, as Robespierre on horseback.

He went on from Lyon, on the 13th, at the head of fourteen thousand men. Ney was sent by Louis XVIII to oppose him. Ney promised that he would bring back Napoleon in an iron cage, but his troops would not obey him, and, as he complained, he "could not stop the ocean with his hands." He was powerless to resist, and went over to the conqueror.

Louis XVIII left the Tuileries in the night of the 19th–20th March. Napoleon entered the rooms he had vacated, in the evening of the 20th. When his carriage drove up he was received with roars of cheers; he was carried on the shoulders of his enthusiastic friends up the grand staircase.

It was a triumph without parallel in history. The danger of the enterprise was not as great as might be imagined. It was notorious that both the peasants and the soldiers were prepared to revolt against the reactionary Government of Louis XVIII. Napoleon knew that his return would be wel-

[1] Houssaye, "1815. Le retour de l'île d'Elbe," p. 268.

comed by a large part of the nation. For all that, the achievement was of a dazzling nature. It raised the prestige of Napoleon to the high clouds, in which only the gods can live. It forced upon Europe a relentless war against the power of a threatening giant. It made a remote island, outside the world of affairs, the only possible final resting-place for a man whose mere appearance had been enough to create a European convulsion.

On the 20th March, 1815, the day of his triumphant return, the counterblast of the Powers reached him. On the 13th March the eight chief Powers issued at Vienna a manifesto, which said: "The Powers declare that by breaking the convention which had established him at the island of Elba, Napoleon Bonaparte has destroyed the sole legal title to which his existence was attached, that by reappearing in France he has placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world, he has delivered himself to public justice." Napoleon was declared by all Europe, outside France, an outlaw.

Even in France he found his position uncomfortable. He had raised expectations of a democratic government which he had no intention of establishing. To make a show of meeting public wishes, he issued the "Acte additionel," a slight amendment, in a popular direction, of the Constitution of the Empire. It met with universal disapproval, going too far for some, and not far enough for others. Napoleon found a very different spirit in France from that to which he had been accustomed, while he himself was constitutionally incapable of being anything but what he had always been—a despot. He said, with contempt, that the Bourbons had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. To no man did the criticism apply with more justice than to himself. He laughed at Louis XVIII for issuing ordinances as in the twenty-second year of his reign, but the "Acte additionel" was an assumption that the Empire also had not been interrupted.

He expressed one day to Count Molé his fear that the Republican party would prevail, spoke of scenes he had witnessed in the Revolution, with disgust and emotion, and acknowledged that had he foreseen how much compliance with the democratic party was necessary, he would never have left the island of Elba.[1] Lucien and Fouché urged him to abdicate, but he was not the man to do so, before Waterloo.

All Europe was arming against him. On the 25th March, England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia entered into a treaty of alliance, each party undertaking to keep in the field a force never less than 150,000 men, "until it shall have been made absolutely impossible for Bonaparte to excite troubles, to renew his attempts to seize the supreme power in France and menace the safety of Europe." This treaty was the necessary sequel to the European denunciation of Napoleon as an outlaw, on the 18th March. It meant that Europe would not tolerate any longer the interference of Napoleon in public affairs. The exasperation against him of the monarchs and their nations was such that there was no hope for him. Europe had risen, when prostrate under his foot, and had swept him away in 1812–14. The issue of the coming conflict could not be doubtful. Napoleon and France were not now, and never had been, strong enough to stand against united Europe.

The Emperor of the French sent letter after letter to his wife at Vienna, saying that he expected her in Paris, but no answer came. His kinship with kings was repudiated. As the lonely man strode up and down the deserted apartments of his Palace, feeling insecure and uncomfortable at home, and watching the approach of certain defeat from abroad, he passed through a terrible experience of moody despair. It was observed that he had not the former incisive energy. He admitted afterwards that he had lost much of his confidence. The failures of the past, the hopeless outlook for the future, had gone far to crush his spirit.

[1] Lord Holland's "Foreign Reminiscences," p. 303.

The danger from without afforded a respite from the trouble at home. France gave him every support in his effort to beat back the invaders, but the task was too great. Fouché said that Napoleon would win a battle, perhaps two battles, and then be completely overthrown. He won the battle of Ligny, and was overwhelmed at Waterloo.

Returning at once to Paris he found that his services were no longer required. He was not wanted either as soldier or civilian. He could not protect France from invasion, he was incapable of giving the French citizens a reasonable amount of liberty. He was dismissed. He was forced, by threats of deposition, to abdicate, on the 22nd June, 1815, leaving the succession to the Empire to his infant son. Napoleon II was proclaimed Emperor, but in a few days the Allies approached Paris, bringing back Louis XVIII.

France had given Napoleon a chance of recovery during the Hundred Days. He had failed in every direction. His career was ended, finally and irretrievably. Napoleon after Waterloo was a spent force. A return from St. Helena, in the Elba manner, would have come to a speedy conclusion in disaster. He was no longer a man to be feared. It was said that if his cocked hat had been washed up on the shore, all Europe would have flown to arms. The Napoleonic symbol still appealed to the imagination; the cocked hat might still be reverenced—but not the head which it had contained. The reputation of Napoleon, the glamour of his marvellous career, was now greater than ever; the power of the man was broken, even in France, beyond repair.

CHAPTER II

FLIGHT

WHEN, before the advancing Prussians, the Provisional Government in Paris asked for an armistice, Blücher replied that he would consider it if Napoleon were delivered over to him, dead or alive. Wellington remonstrated. He wrote to Sir Charles Stuart, on the 28th June, 1815: "The Parisians think the Jacobins will give him over to me, believing that I will save his life. Blücher writes to kill him: but I have told him that I shall remonstrate, and shall insist on his being disposed of by common accord. I have likewise said that, as a private friend, I advised him to have nothing to do with so foul a transaction—that he and I had acted too distinguished parts in these transactions to become executioners—and that I was determined that if the Sovereigns wished to put him to death, they should appoint an executioner, who should not be me."[1]

Gneisenau expressed the Prussian feeling when he declared that the Duke's pretence of humanity was a cloak for his desire to keep alive the man whose career had extended the power of England. The English soldier's intercession on behalf of his defeated enemy earned for him, and his nation, the charge of treachery to Europe.

Napoleon was under no illusion as to the dangers which surrounded him on the Continent of Europe. On the evening of the 21st June, the day of his return from Waterloo, when he had not yet abdicated, he was dining with Hortense at the

[1] Castlereagh's Letters, 3rd series, vol. ii, p. 386.

Elysée. His stepdaughter urged him to write to the Emperor Francis, or to the Czar. "Never," he replied, with emphasis, "Never will I write to my father-in-law. I have too much to complain of in his having kept away from me my wife and my son. It is too cruel. Alexander is like other men; if I am brought to a pass of that kind I should prefer to address myself to a people, to England."[1] He appeared, subsequently, to have abandoned the project, at the instance of Hortense, Bassano, Flahaut and others who spoke of its dangers, and he then talked of going to the United States; but the plan of throwing himself on British clemency had been far too long in his mind to be dropped because Hortense wept, and others had misgivings.

Napoleon had from early childhood been reared in an atmosphere of hatred of France and Genoa, and admiration of England. Genoa sold Corsica to France in 1764, and the new owner, after a strenuous resistance on the part of the great Corsican patriot, Pasquale Paoli, conquered the little island in 1768. Paoli retired to England, where he obtained from the British Government a pension of £2000 a year. Napoleon was born in 1769, at a time when Corsican patriots were looking to England for protection against their French oppressors. England was, like Corsica, an island detached from the nations of the Continent, and France was her hereditary enemy. Napoleon's short stature, and his activity, seemed to fit him for a life at sea. He was destined for a naval career, and his boyish thoughts turned often to the nation whose navy was the pattern for all imitators. His foster-brother, Ignazio Ilari, with whom he spent much of his time on the beach at Ajaccio, with an occasional outing in a boat, joined the English Navy and fought against France. Admiration of England, and especially of the English Navy, was bred in Napoleon from his earliest years, and remained with him throughout his great career. At the age of eighteen he wrote out an imaginary correspondence between Theodore,

[1] Houssaye, "1815," p. 46.

ex-King of Corsica, and Horace Walpole. Theodore had taken refuge in England, but had been imprisoned for debt, and Walpole had raised a subscription for him. Napoleon makes Theodore exclaim: "Unjust men! I tried to contribute to the happiness of a nation. I succeeded for a time, and you admired me. Fortune has changed. I am in a dungeon, and you despise me." To this Walpole replies: "You suffer and are unhappy. These are two reasons for claiming the sympathy of an Englishman. Emerge then from your prison and accept a pension of £3000 a year."

In 1789, a year later, Napoleon was writing a story about an Englishman wrecked on the island of Gorgona, whom he described as "one of those virtuous Englishmen who still protect our fugitive citizens." The belief that he would be received well in England—though he was an enemy, while Paoli and Theodore had been allies—was thus derived from feelings which had been among the dominant passions of his youth.

As a fallen man in 1814, and again in 1815, he feared assassination, wherever he might be—except among the English. After the abdication at Fontainebleau in 1814 he endeavoured to obtain through Lord Castlereagh, "an asylum" in England, where he would have "security," that is to say, a refuge from assassination. He insisted on being taken from France to Elba on an English ship, the *Undaunted*, and remarked when he got on board that he then for the first time felt safe.[1] At Elba he continued to speak of taking refuge in England, discussing the point on various occasions with Campbell, the British Commissioner, with Koller, the Russian, and with his own followers.[2] When he was landing at Elba, he desired that boats with marines from the *Undaunted* should keep close to his barge; on shore he asked for a guard, in his own Kingdom, of fifty British

[1] In our own day the Czar Alexander II used to declare that he never felt quite secure from danger except on a British man-of-war.

[2] See "Napoleon in Exile at Elba," pp. 48, 49, 60, 79, 84, 107, 136, 141, 262, 287.

marines, though afterwards he retained only one sergeant, who slept outside his door, until the *Undaunted* left Elba. And now, in 1815, he saw his great English antagonist shielding him from the fury of the Prussians. He remarked to Sir George Bingham, on the *Northumberland*, that he thought his life safe with the English, which it might not have been had it been entrusted to "the Austrians or Prussians." He told O'Meara at St. Helena that he knew the English were not addicted to the crime of murder. It was that consideration that, from the first moment of irreparable defeat, impelled him to look for safety on an English ship, to be taken to England. He would make the best terms he could, he would appeal to English generosity; but the first thing was to get under English protection, no matter on what conditions. Speaking at St. Helena on one occasion to O'Meara, on another to Montholon, he remarked that in the United States he would have been assassinated by emissaries of Louis XVIII. As a Corsican, accustomed to the blood-feud, the family vendetta which follows an enemy to the ends of the earth, he could expect nothing else.

Ostensibly he now desired to go to the United States. On the 23rd June, the day after his abdication, he sent to Decrès, Minister of Marine, a request that two frigates at Rochefort, the *Saale* and *Méduse*, should be placed at his disposal. Decrès replied that he would consult the members of the Provisional Government. Meanwhile, Napoleon made preparations for departure. He sent for Lafitte, the banker, and confided to him a large sum of money. A list was made of those who were prepared to go to the United States. Bertrand was the chief, and he was joined by Savary and Lallemand who were in danger of proscription, with the Emperor's secretary Meneval, his chamberlains Montholon and Las Cases, and his orderly officers Gourgaud, Planat, Saint-Yon, Chiappe, and Résigny.

There were manifestations outside the Elysée Palace, cries of "*Vive l'empereur!*" "*Des armes, des armes!*" Napoleon

made no response, but his presence in the capital was disturbing the public mind, and Fouché, on the 24th, sent Davout to persuade his former master to leave Paris. The interview between the two men was stiff and cold, and they parted without a handshake. Napoleon would not remain where he was not wanted. He sent Hortense at once to prepare Malmaison, which since the death of Josephine had been her property. On the 25th he followed her, leaving the Elysée at 12.30 for Malmaison, about nine miles distant.

In 1798, before leaving for Egypt, General Bonaparte had been in treaty for the purchase of Malmaison, but the price demanded he considered too high. Josephine bought the estate on the 21st April, 1799, during her husband's absence, but paid only for the furniture. She was visited there by her lover, the young officer, Charles. Bonaparte, on his return, at first declined to receive her, but her tears and entreaties overcame him. He forgave her and paid the remainder of the purchase money for the estate. It was at Malmaison that he passed the happiest part of his life, during the glorious period of the Consulate. He worked at the Tuileries, and went to Malmaison for rest and enjoyment.

The house has a total length of 167 feet in front and 210 at the back, and is 26 feet deep. It is a fair-sized country house, of a long and narrow shape. Napoleon's bedroom was only 17 feet by 14 feet; he preferred to sleep in a small room.

The gardens were the feature of the place. Bourrienne says that he never saw Napoleon happier than when walking in the Malmaison grounds—save, perhaps, on a field of battle. Napoleon, and his brother Joseph, were fond of landscape gardening. Napoleon spent great sums in forming streams, cascades, ponds, with pavilions and statues, and trees planted for their individual effect. We shall have to mention later the efforts he made in the same direction at St. Helena.

Josephine made the gardens famous. She was a great

lover of flowers, especially of roses, and her patronage gave the first stimulus to scientific rose culture. "Poor Josephine!" Napoleon was now saying, as he wandered about the park, and stopped before a bed of roses in full blossom. "I cannot accustom myself to live here without her. I seem constantly to be seeing her come down one of these alleys and pick one of these flowers of which she was so fond."

It was only during the Consulate that Napoleon made Malmaison his home. In that period of wonderful achievement, he collected about him in his country house the men who, with him, have become immortal—Talleyrand, Berthier, Fouché, Lannes, Ney, Masséna, Murat, Bernadotte; and many others whose names will long be remembered—Duroc, Lebrun, Cambacérès, Talma, Isabey, Rapp, Junot, Corvisart, Gérard, Girodet, and all his brothers and sisters, with Letizia, his mother, at their head. What lively talk went on, what great schemes were planned, and ambitious thoughts conceived! Nothing seemed impossible to that youthful company of talents guided by genius—except the manner and occasion of the hero's return to his former house, in June, 1815. The days the fallen man spent there amidst all these memories, must surely have been among the most miserable in his life.

Malmaison now belongs to the French Government and is used as a Napoleonic museum. The grounds are much reduced in size, but the large lawns are kept in good order, the trees, some of them dating from the Consulate, are guarded with tender care, the rivulets are still in existence, beds of old-fashioned roses have been planted, and there are statues and ornaments in the original style.

Besides those who had come with him from Paris on the 25th June, 1815, Napoleon had as visitors at Malmaison his brothers Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome, Maret, Duc de Bassano, Lavalette, Savary, Flahaut, Piré, La Bédoyère, Caffarelli with Comtesse Caffarelli, the Duchesse de Vicence, Talma, Corvisart, his mother Letizia, Hortense, Cardinal Fesch, the

Comtesse Walewska with his son by her. His son by Eléonore Revel, Napoleon's first child, whom he called Léon, was also there, under the care of Baron Meneval.

On the evening of his arrival, after dinner, Napoleon received General Beker, who had been sent by the Provisional Government, ostensibly to take command of some three hundred men of the Old Guard who were at Malmaison, in reality to watch and control Napoleon's movements.

Napoleon took Beker out by the glass door leading to the bridge over the moat, into the park. It was a fine, starry summer evening. They walked about the garden paths for several hours. Napoleon told Beker that it was his intention to go to the United States, and that he would start for Rochefort as soon as he knew that the frigates there would be placed at his disposal. With this message Beker returned next morning to Paris.

Lieut.-General Nicolas Beker, Comte de Pons, had seen much service in the wars of the Revolution and Empire. He had been at Neerwinden in 1793, at Hohenlinden in 1800, at Austerlitz in 1805, and at Essling in 1809; but he then came into disfavour for outspoken opinions about the operations in Spain, for his past association with Moreau and his allegiance to Masséna, who was in disgrace, and he was not again employed by Napoleon. Beker now had a difficult part; sympathy for fallen greatness, loyalty to the man who had given France a dominant position in Europe, conflicted with his duty to the French Government.

In the account afterwards published,[1] Beker says: "I noticed, in the long conversation I had with him, that he fears attempts of the enemy upon his person. That is why he delays leaving France, in order to avoid such a catastrophe, of which the shame, he said to me, 'would fall upon the nation.'" Napoleon was playing for official French protection at Malmaison against the Prussians. Failing that, he would insist upon specific orders from the French Govern-

[1] "Relation de ma mission auprès Napoléon."

ment for a voyage in a French warship. He disdained all idea of a secret evasion, as a private individual, an outcast fleeing from the wrath of Europe.

Fouché, on the 25th June, wrote both to Wellington, who was advancing on Paris, and to Castlereagh in London, asking for passports to enable Napoleon to reach the United States without interference by British ships. This has been regarded as a treacherous action designed to give the British officials notice of the projected journey. For it was well known that England could not, in opposition to the desire of her Allies, assist Napoleon to escape. Wellington, as was expected, refused to act alone with regard to Napoleon's future, and a similar reply came from the British Government later on.

A letter written by Planat to a friend on the 26th June, from Malmaison, tends to exculpate Fouché. Planat had come with Napoleon from Paris, he had been accepted as one of the Emperor's followers, and was in a position to know what was going on. He wrote :—

"The Emperor has demanded passports from the English Government for a voyage to America. It is asserted that General Wellington on receiving this demand said: 'But why does he not go to England ? I am persuaded that he would be well received there, and that he would not be disturbed there.'

"I think the Emperor had intended to remain at Paris to wait for the reply of the British Cabinet; but the Provisional Government informed him that his presence caused a fermentation and interfered with the deliberations of the Chambers, and that the interests of his son demanded that he should depart, so as to take away all pretext for ill-feeling and to prove the sincerity of his renunciation. The Emperor wished to prove that he was, and wished to be henceforth, nothing but a private citizen entirely detached from political affairs; and so we have all come here to Malmaison."[1]

[1] "Vie de Planat," p. 213.

It was Napoleon himself who instigated the demand for British passports for the United States. He knew that he was revealing to his enemies the direction of his intended flight, but he also knew that British ships were already on the watch. Before the battle of Waterloo the British Navy had established a blockade of the whole French coast, and when news of the Emperor's defeat arrived, a close watch was maintained off the ports in the Channel and the Bay of Biscay, whence Napoleon might endeavour to escape. Lord Keith sent thirty ships into the Bay, some lying near the chief ports, others further out, keeping guard from Ushant to Finisterre. Admiral Hotham in the *Superb* was at Quiberon Bay, Captain Maitland in the *Bellerophon* off Rochefort.[1] Napoleon knew that even in a French frigate there was serious risk of a capture which would have been, for a man of his proud nature, a humiliation worse than death. He was determined not to place himself in danger of so terrible a calamity. Rather than that should happen to him, he would give himself up to England. It was, therefore, of no importance to him to conceal from the English the route he intended to take. His demand for passports for America was a preliminary appeal to British generosity. If they had been given he would have considered himself under British protection, with a claim to be received in England as an honoured guest. If, as happened, they were refused, his position was no worse than before. As for the United States he had no intention of going there. He felt sure he would be assassinated there; and he declared, on several occasions, at St. Helena, that he could no longer bring himself to renounce his Royalty and live as a private person, which would have been necessary in America. The same feeling made it impossible to consider any undignified method of escape.

When Beker reached Paris on the 26th June, he delivered Napoleon's request for the use of the two frigates at Roche-

[1] Dr. J. Holland Rose, Owens College Historical Essays, 1902.

fort, and received an order, of which the main provisions were :—

"1. The Minister of Marine will give orders for the two frigates in the port of Rochefort to be armed for the transport of Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.

"2. He will be provided as far as the place of embarkation, if he desires, with a sufficient escort under the orders of Lieut.-General Beker, who is charged to provide for his safety.

. . . . . .

"5. The frigates will not leave Rochefort roads until the passports which have been demanded have arrived."

Beker showed these instructions to Napoleon, but the last clause nullified the others; it was not to be expected that he would go to Rochefort and await there passports which might never arrive. The object of this order was to remove Napoleon from the neighbourhood of Paris, where he might become a danger to the Provisional Government, and yet to prevent him from leaving France. But the scheme was too transparent. Napoleon, on the 28th, dictated to Beker a letter to be taken to the Minister of War, in which he said: "I decline the journey, because on my arrival at Rochefort I should consider myself in the position of a prisoner, my departure for America being dependent upon the arrival of passports which will doubtless be refused. I am determined to await my arrest here."

There were constant communications from Napoleon to the Provisional Government, as he kept sending Lavalette, Savary, and Beker to demand the unfettered use of the Rochefort frigates. In the meantime, he was setting his affairs in order. Besides the large sum he had placed with the banker Lafitte he sold certain *rentes*, bringing in about £600 a year. They stood in the name of "Napoléon Buonaparte," and must therefore have been bought in 1795–6, between Vendémiaire and the Italian campaign. When

Peyrusse presented the legal transfer to be signed, Napoleon said, with some heat, "Write, Baron Peyrusse, my treasurer, sell my *rente* of £600 a year, and remit to me the proceeds. And I pray," etc. He signed the order, "Napoleon." But, as Peyrusse foresaw, the authorities declined to accept the transfer under that order. The signature "Napoleon" was no longer sufficient. A notary presented himself with the necessary document, beginning, "Before us now present Napoléon Buonaparte," etc. In a heavy silence, Napoleon signed, "Napoleon"; but that would not do and he had to be told to add "Buonaparte," a word he had not written for many years. He seized the paper and scribbled something that was considered satisfactory, and handed it back with averted face. Probably there was no attempt at the "u," which he had dropped in 1796, but the whole word must have been illegible.

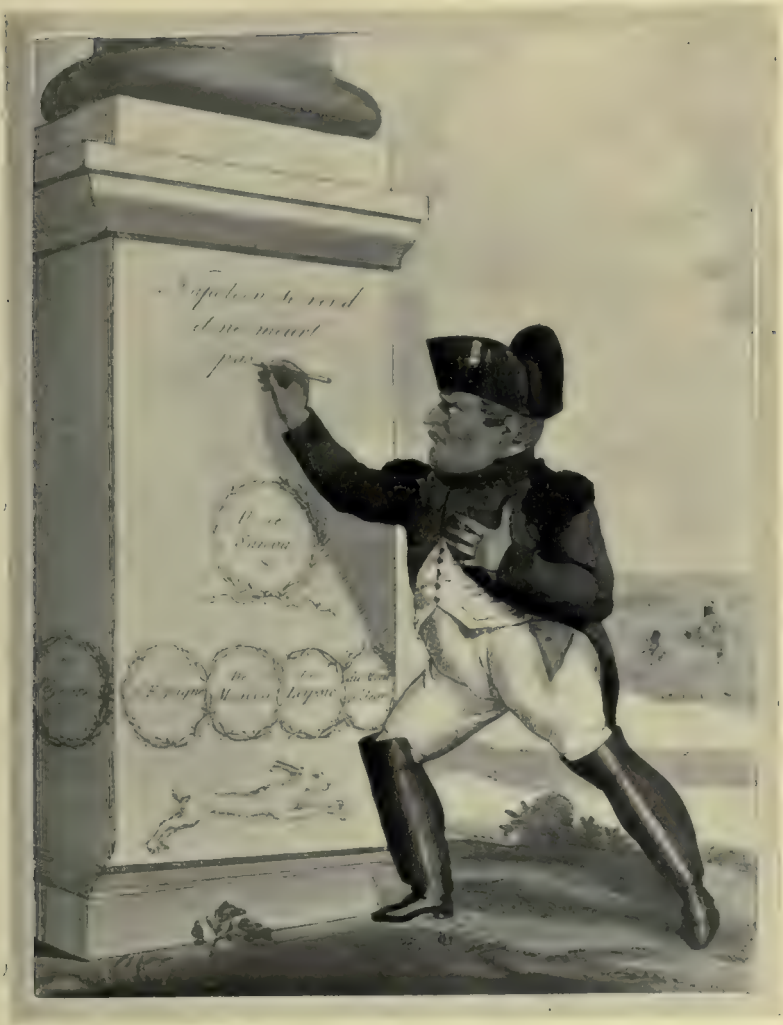
On the 28th June the Prussians reached Gonesse on the north of Paris, and Blücher ordered a detachment of troops to be sent forward to Malmaison to seize the person of Napoleon. Davout, on hearing the news, ordered Beker to burn the bridge of Chatou, near Rueil, which was accordingly done; and the bridge of Bezous, higher up the river, was cut. There was now real danger that Napoleon might fall into the hands of the Prussians, which would have been dishonouring to the French Government, and Fouché gave the overdue orders that the ships at Rochefort should be authorized to take him to the United States, whether the British passports had been received or not.

This order was taken personally to Malmaison by the Minister of Marine, Decrès, accompanied by another Minister, Boulay de la Meurthe. They arrived at the house at 4 a.m. of the 29th June, and Napoleon was aroused to receive them. On hearing their message, that the Prussians were approaching and the frigates were at his disposal without conditions, Napoleon gave orders for preparations to be made for his departure.

At 9 a.m. Bassano and Lavalette arrived from Paris, and with Flahaut and Joseph, were received by Napoleon. Lavalette gave him the latest information with regard to the positions of the French troops and the advanced Prussians, from which it appeared that the enemy was in an exposed situation. Napoleon moved the pins on his map. Just at that moment, shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were heard from a body of soldiers passing along the high road to St. Germain. The fighting instinct burst forth once more. Exclaiming that France need not be overcome by a handful of Prussians, that he could still stop the enemy, Napoleon sent for Beker and told him to go to the Provisional Government and say that he demanded to be placed in command of the troops, not as Emperor, but as a General whose name and reputation might still exercise a great influence upon the fate of the nation. He promised on the faith of a soldier, a citizen and a Frenchman, to depart to America, there to fulfil his destiny, on the day that he should have repelled the enemy.

At midday Beker, with this message, was introduced to the Commission, which was sitting, under the Presidency of Fouché. The answer he took back was an order written by Fouché declining Napoleon's proposal, and insisting that he should start for Rochefort at once. Fouché showed Beker a number of letters from Grouchy, Vandamme, and other Generals, tending to show that Napoleon might at any moment fall into the hands of the enemy. When Beker returned with this letter, Napoleon exclaimed: "These men do not know the feeling that prevails. They will regret having refused my offer." Then, after a pause, "You told them of my promise?" "Yes, Sire." "Very well, then I must go. Give the orders. When everything is prepared, come and tell me."

The Imperial carriages were collected in the wide front court of Malmaison, while a plain carriage was prepared in the small yard. Napoleon, dressed in civilian costume,



VOILÀ CE QUE C'EST QUE D'AVOIR DU CŒUR

French caricature of 1815

in a brown coat, followed Beker through the vestibule and glass door, across the bridge into the park. Not a word was spoken. He entered the carriage, Bertrand followed at his side, Beker sat opposite Bertrand, and Savary faced Napoleon. The four horses, with two postilions, started at a gallop and left the park by the small gate, at 5 p.m. of the 29th June, in a dead silence. Bertrand had suggested that no remarks should be made, to avoid painful discussion, and Napoleon said nothing. The valets followed in another carriage, and Gourgaud a little later.

Rambouillet was reached at 10, and rest taken for the night at the castle. Montholon and his wife, Las Cases and his son, Baillon, and the orderlies Planat, Résigny, Chiappe, Autrie, Sainte-Cathérine, travelled by way of Orléans, Limoges, and Saintes. Madame Bertrand went by the Vendôme route. There would not have been sufficient relays of horses if all had travelled with Napoleon. The terrible experiences through Provence in the previous year made it advisable for Napoleon to go by a little-frequented route, without announcing his course beforehand. Some of the party who went by Limoges, were received in a disagreeable manner at Saintes, and were glad to get through without suffering actual violence.

While Napoleon was resting in safety at Rambouillet a Prussian detachment, consisting of a regiment of hussars and two battalions of infantry, under Major Colomb, was making its way from Gonesse, with orders to capture Napoleon if possible. By great exertions they managed to reach Montressor, about three miles from Malmaison, at 2 a.m. of the 30th June, there to learn that the bridge of Chatou had been destroyed, and that Napoleon had already left Malmaison, and was out of reach. If he had remained till next morning, and the Prussians had succeeded in crossing the river, he would either have been captured and put to death, or killed while defending himself.

On the 30th, Napoleon left Rambouillet for Vendôme,

and thence passed through Tours at about midnight, and went on through the night, without stopping, to Poitiers, where a short halt was made outside the town. At a small town, Saint-Maixent, there was difficulty with the mayor, who would not accept the passports, which were made out for General Beker, a secretary (personated by Napoleon in his civilian dress), and a valet; but Beker fortunately found an officer of gendarmes who knew him personally and overcame the scruples of the mayor. Niort was reached on the 1st July at 10 p.m., and a well-deserved rest was taken, after thirty-six hours in the carriage. Napoleon lodged in the prefecture.

Napoleon, with his brown frock-coat, had not often been recognized on the journey. At Niort his arrival was made known, as there were two regiments of cavalry in the town, and the demeanour both of populace and troops was sympathetic. Crowds collected outside the prefecture to cry "*Vive l'Empereur!*" but Napoleon declined to show himself.

Bonnefoux, the maritime prefect of Rochefort, sent word that since the 29th June the English had doubled their ships before the Straits of Brenton and Antioche, the only practicable outlets, and that no vessels could now get out without being observed; it would be extremely dangerous for the frigates to try to force a passage. Bonnefoux had secret orders not to allow the frigates to sail if their passage was opposed by the English ships. The French were not to fight England any more on behalf of their former ruler. Napoleon had been told that the frigates would sail without British passports, while instructions were privily sent that they were not to sail without British connivance. He had been obliged to leave Malmaison, without waiting another day, to escape the Prussians. It was that danger that made him move, not the expectation of assistance from the French Navy.

Napoleon now revealed his project. He sent from Niort, on the 2nd July, a letter to Paris, through Beker, in which

he said: "The Emperor desires the Minister of Marine to authorize the Captain of the frigate to communicate with the Commander of the English squadron, if extraordinary events should make that course necessary, both for the personal safety of His Majesty and to spare France the sorrow and the shame to see him taken from his last refuge, to be delivered to the mercies of his enemies. If in this situation the English cruiser prevents the frigates from leaving, you may dispose of the services of the Emperor as a General having no other thought than to be of service to his country." This was a further attempt to implicate France in his destiny. He wished for French official approval of his surrender to England, or in the alternative the command of French troops.

On the 3rd July, at 4 a.m., Napoleon went on to Rochefort, which he reached at 8 a.m. He was well received by the populace throughout the journey. He showed no sign of emotion now or at any time during these days. His followers sat silent and dejected in the carriage, and he said nothing. He occasionally took snuff from the box offered by Beker, upon which was a portrait of Marie Louise in ivory; once he examined the carving, and then returned it to Beker, without a word.

He was received by Bonnefoux, and was installed at the Prefecture. Crowds came to the windows calling for "*L'Empereur*," until he was at last prevailed upon to show himself and bow to the people, who greeted him with acclamations. Protected by the Aix batteries there lay at anchor the two frigates, the *Saale*, Captain Philibert, and the *Méduse*, Captain Ponée. They were victualled for four and a half months, and special preparations had been made for a table suitable for Napoleon and his followers. When they had all joined him there were sixty-four persons altogether in his suite.

A council of superior officers of the Marine was held, and their unanimous opinion was that it was impossible to escape

the vigilance of the English ships. Beker wrote to the Provisional Government on the next day, 4th July: "Immediately upon our arrival at Rochefort, the superior officers of the Marine declared that it was impossible to depart from the Aix roads so long as the English maintained so large a cruising squadron in sight of our ships." In a private letter Beker wrote that there was no possibility of escape so long as the English cruisers occupied all the outlets, and that he saw no favourable chance for the departure of the Emperor.

All sorts of projects for escape were mooted, but Napoleon, while pretending to be interested, would not decide upon any of them. Amongst other plans it was proposed that he should be shut in a barrel, with holes for breathing, and placed on a neutral ship. There was nothing to prevent successful evasion by a subterfuge of that kind, but one cannot imagine the Emperor Napoleon stooping to such undignified procedure.

There was now a period of complete inaction at Rochefort, for five days, from the 3rd to the 8th July. Beker says, "a certain apathy had taken possession of the faculties of Napoleon." Probably he had been informed by Bonnefoux that the frigates had orders not to attempt to force a way against the British vessels. He had made up his mind to give himself up to the British ship, but put off the final act, partly from natural hesitation, partly to await a reply from Paris to his renewed offer of his services. There should have been no doubt about the answer, but he clung at straws. The delay was prejudicial to him, for his appeal to English magnanimity would have had better effect if made at once, while he could still assert that he had some semblance of freedom.

On the evening of the 7th Beker received the answer from the Commission of Government to his letter from Niort. "Napoleon must embark without delay. The success of our negotiations depends principally upon the certitude which the Allied Powers wish to have of his embarkation,

and you do not know to what extent the safety and tranquillity of the State are imperilled by these delays. . . . You must, therefore, employ every means of force which may be necessary, while at the same time preserving the respect which is due to Napoleon. As for the services he offers, our duty towards France, and our engagements with the Powers, do not permit us to accept them, and you must not trouble us with them any further. Finally, the Commission sees some inconvenience in Napoleon's communicating with the English squadron. It cannot accord the desired permission on that head."

The Government was afraid that Napoleon would place himself at the head of the Army; it wished him to embark on a French ship, but not to sail and so perhaps escape, for the Allies had declared that they would require additional guarantees from France in that event; on the other hand, the Government was unwilling to be officially concerned in Napoleon's project of going on a British ship.

In accordance with these orders Beker now pressed Napoleon to embark, and on the 8th July a move was at last made. At 4 p.m. Napoleon drove to the little port of Fouras, where the boats from the frigates were in attendance. As it was low tide, the boats could not come to the landing-stage, and Napoleon stepped off the mainland of France, which he was never again to touch, on to the back of a sailor, who carried him to the boat. He was taken to the *Saale*, where he was received with all his honours.

On the 9th, a Sunday, Napoleon went ashore for a few hours on the island of Aix, where he was acclaimed by the troops with homage and enthusiasm. He inspected the works he had caused to be constructed for the protection of ships at anchor in the bay, he passed a regiment of marines in review, and received the officers; he was once more, and for the last time, the great Emperor. When he returned to the *Saale* he found that Beker had received fresh orders from Paris, dated the 6th July. Beker was to press Napoleon to

embark on one of the frigates, but—"If Napoleon should prefer to be taken immediately on board an English cruiser, or to England, the maritime Prefect will give him the means of doing so, upon his written demand, and in that case, an emissary with a flag of truce will at once be placed at his disposal." . . . "In no case is the commander of the vessel on which Napoleon may be, to disembark him on any point whatever of French territory, under pain of high treason." The French ship was not to sail if there was any sign of British opposition.

Las Cases in the "Mémoires," published in 1818, writes of the situation: "The English cruisers were in view, and hovered day and night about the port of Rochefort. Every pass seemed guarded and closed. Besides, the winds were uniformly contrary. While, in this manner, every account which we received from the interior imperiously commanded us to hasten our departure, everything at sea concurred to render it impossible. In this extremity of embarrassment, the Emperor dispatched me to an English cruiser, as from my early emigration from France and residence in England, I possessed a knowledge of the English."

Napoleon had now obtained the authorization of the French Government; he knew, as Las Cases says, that he had no alternative but to communicate with the English, a project which he had long contemplated.

He dictated a letter, which was signed by Bertrand, asking the English Commander whether he had received the passports which were expected from London, and if not, whether he would oppose the departure of Napoleon for the United States, on a French frigate. Savary and Las Cases were sent with this letter early in the morning of the 10th July. Las Cases understood English, and was enjoined to keep that fact secret, in the hope of surprising any confidences that might be exchanged in his presence, by the English officers.

They were received on board the *Bellerophon*, seventy-four guns, by Captain Maitland. On 30th May, 1815, Maitland

CAPTAIN MAITLAND

From H. Meyer's engraving after the painting by Samuel Woodford, R.A.

had been ordered by Admiral Sir Henry Hotham to reconnoitre the roadstead of Rochefort, and report by a small boat the number of vessels there. He arrived in Basque Roads on the 31st May, 1815, and forwarded to Hotham the information that there were at anchor, under the island of Aix, two large frigates, the *Saale* and *Méduse*, the corvette *Balladière*, and a large brig, the *Epervier*.

On the 28th June Maitland obtained news of the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo; on the 30th he heard of the abdication. He concluded that Napoleon would attempt to escape from Aix Roads, and kept his ship always within three miles of the land. On the 1st July he received information which confirmed his opinion. He writes:[1] "I anchored the *Bellerophon* as close to the French squadron as the batteries would permit, kept guard-boats rowing all night, and prepared my ship's company for the description of action in which I thought it was probable they would be engaged. I trained one hundred of the stoutest men, selecting them from the different stations in the ship; it being my intention, after firing into and silencing one frigate, to run the *Bellerophon* alongside of her, throw that party in, and then, leaving her in charge of the first lieutenant, to have proceeded in chase of the other." Still, one of the frigates would have had a good chance of escaping.

On the 7th Maitland received a letter from Sir Henry Hotham informing him that it was believed that Napoleon had left Paris for Rochefort, and that every effort was to be made to prevent his escape. On the 8th he received a letter from Hotham informing him that an application had been received by the British Government for passports for Napoleon, which had been refused, that he was of opinion that Napoleon had taken the road to Rochefort, and would embark on the frigates off the island of Aix.

Maitland was fully warned of the importance of his posi-

[1] "The Narrative of the Surrender of Buonaparte," by Captain F. L. Maitland, p. 11.

tion, and the arrival of Savary and Las Cases with a flag of truce, at 7 a.m. of the 10th July, showed that he and Hotham had judged correctly. Las Cases presented Bertrand's letter, to which Maitland replied in writing: "I cannot say what the intentions of my Government may be, but, the two countries being at present in a state of war, it is impossible for me to permit any ship of war to put to sea from the port of Rochefort. As to the proposal made by the Duc de Rovigo and Count Las Cases, of allowing the Emperor to proceed in a merchant vessel; it is out of my power—without the sanction of my commanding officer, Sir Henry Hotham, who is at present at Quiberon Bay, and to whom I have forwarded your dispatch—to allow any vessel, under whatever flag she may be, to pass with a personage of such consequence."

This was the only possible answer. While Savary and Las Cases were still on board, the brig *Falmouth*, Captain Knight, arrived with further dispatches from Sir Henry Hotham. Maitland was instructed to search every ship that might attempt to pass. "If you should be so fortunate as to intercept him (Napoleon), you are to transfer him and his family to the ship you command, and there keeping him in careful custody, return to the nearest port in England (going into Torbay in preference to Plymouth) with all possible expedition; and on your arrival you are not to permit any communication whatever with the shore, except as hereinafter directed."

In conversation with the French emissaries, Maitland said: "Supposing the British Government should be induced to grant a passage for Buonaparte's going to America, what pledge could he give that he would not return, and put England, as well as all Europe, to the same expense of blood and treasure that has just been incurred?" To this Savary replied that Napoleon could never regain the power he had exercised over the minds of the French, that his influence over them was past, and he wished to retire into obscurity,

that were he solicited to ascend the throne again, he would decline it. "If that is the case," said Maitland, "why not ask an asylum in England?" Savary replied that the climate was damp and cold, it was too near Europe, and that the English regarded him as a monster more than a human being.

The emissaries returned to the *Saale* at 2 p.m. The impression their report made is seen in Beker's account. He says: "The result of these proceedings did not encourage us to entertain favourable anticipations with regard to the position of the Emperor, if, in the last resort, he was obliged to give himself up to the enemy. We returned from that time to the attempts at escape which we had already discussed; we thought again of an embarkation upon a small vessel, whose departure along indirect paths might offer some chances of success. The difficulties increased every instant, the watch of the English, warned by the appearance of the emissaries, becoming more severe." It is evident that Maitland's reception had been of a very depressing kind, without the smallest gleam of encouragement.

On hearing the grave news Captain Ponée, of the *Méduse*, offered to sacrifice his ship in an attack upon the *Bellerophon*, in which the brig *Epervier* would join, in order to give the *Saale*, with Napoleon on board, a free run. Preparations were made on the *Méduse* that evening, but next day, the 11th July, Captain Philibert, of the *Saale*, who was the superior officer, told Bertrand that "out of respect for the Emperor he would not consider the proposal of Captain Ponée and the officers of the *Méduse* as an act of rebellion, but that he was opposed to any further mention of the subject."[1] The instructions sent some days before from Paris to both captains, that they were not to attempt to force their way past the English ship, had not been abrogated; and Philibert declined to run the risk of incurring the charge of high treason.

All the old projects for escape were revived, but Napoleon

[1] Houssaye, "1815. La seconde Abdication," p. 390.

would not definitely accept any of them. He sent off Lallemand to ascertain what might be done from the Bordeaux direction. He received news of the capitulation of Paris. He now began to feel uncomfortable on the *Saale*, whose commander had shown himself determined to obey the orders he received from Paris. On the 12th July Napoleon left the *Saale*, and took refuge with the garrison on the island of Aix. By that time Maitland had received the assistance of several smaller vessels. All the three outlets from Aix were guarded, and he felt he could safely go inside the central channel, accompanied by the *Slaney*, and anchor in Basque Roads. They were now only about three miles from the French frigates.

On the 13th, Joseph came from Rochefort to the island of Aix, to try to assist his brother. He proposed that they should both make for Royan, on the Gironde, where he had a vessel in readiness. The obstacle to this plan was the surveillance of the French themselves at Aix. Bonnefoux and Beker had the strictest orders not to allow Napoleon again to touch the mainland of France. To meet the difficulty, Joseph, who had a marked resemblance in face to his brother, offered to remain at Aix and impersonate Napoleon, who might then be allowed to land in the character of his brother. This desperate suggestion reveals Napoleon's hopeless situation. It was not in his power to return to France. He declined the self-sacrifice, and Joseph thereupon left his brother, whom he was never to see again, and made his escape to America from Royan, in the ship he had prepared. But for French opposition—and his own disinclination—Napoleon could have done the same.

Preparations had been made, with Napoleon's concurrence, for an evasion by means of two small sailing vessels, called *chasse-marées*, which were to sail along the coast to La Rochelle, where a larger vessel would be found. The baggage had been embarked, and at 11 p.m., the hour arranged, Napoleon was informed that all was ready, but his reply was :

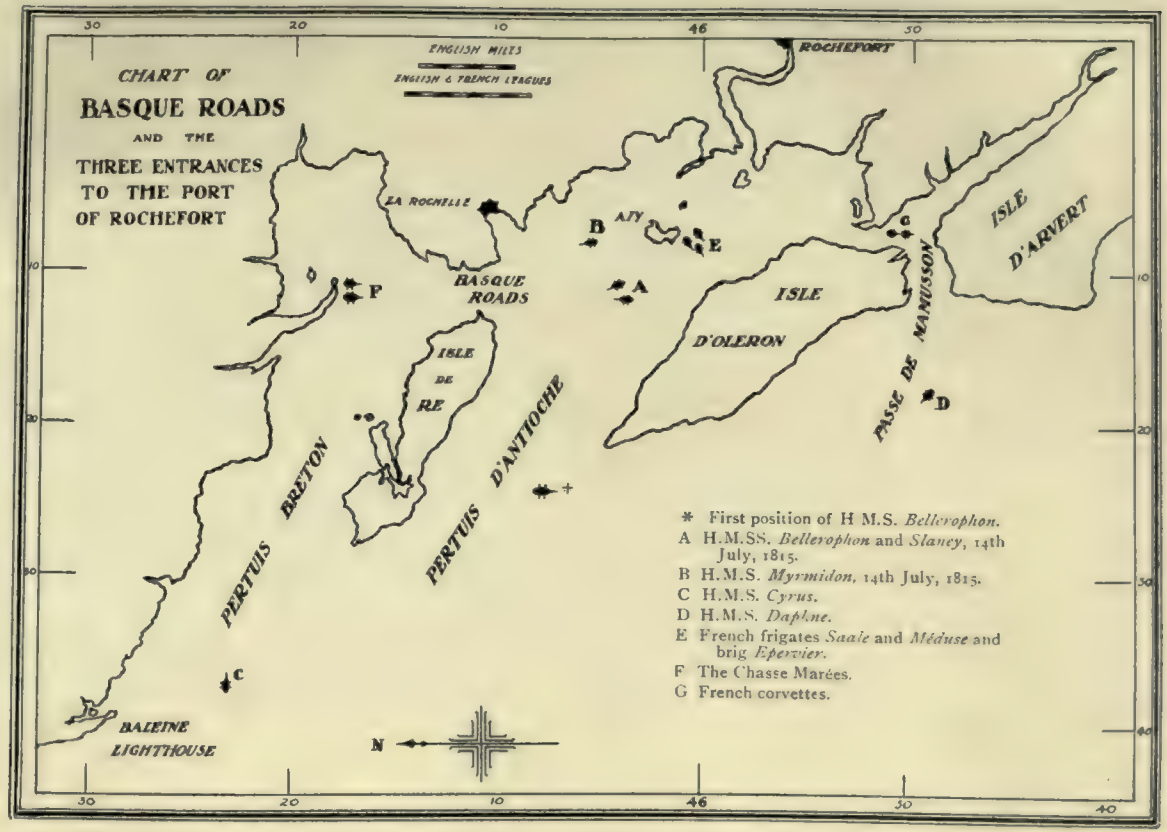


CHART OF
BASQUE ROADS
AND THE
THREE ENTRANCES
TO THE PORT
OF ROCHEFORT
ENGLISH MILES
ENGLISH & FRENCH LEAGUES
ROCHEFORT
LA ROCHELLE
AIX
BASQUE ROADS
ISLE D'OLERON
ISLE D'ARVERT
PASSE DE MANUSSON
ISLE DE RE
PERTUIS BRETON
PERTUIS D'ANTIOCHE
BALEINE LIGHTHOUSE
N
* First position of H M.S. Bellerophon.
A H.M.SS. Bellerophon and Slaney, 14th July, 1815.
B H.M.S. Myrmidon, 14th July, 1815.
C H.M.S. Cyrus.
D H.M.S. Daphne.
E French frigates Saale and Méduse and brig Epervier.
F The Chasse Marées.
G French corvettes.

"There is always danger in confiding oneself to enemies, but it is better to take the risk of confiding in their honour, than to fall into their hands as a prisoner according to law." This statement explains the whole of his proceedings from the day he left Paris. He said to Gourgaud that he had already had the idea of going to the English ship and making a speech, saying that, "Like Themistocles, not willing to take part in the dismemberment of my country, I come to demand an asylum."

He sent Las Cases and Lallemand to the *Bellerophon*, at 4 a.m. of the 14th July. Las Cases asked Maitland whether he would allow Napoleon to go to America in a French ship of war, a merchant vessel, or a British warship. Maitland, having first obtained the presence of Captain Sartorious, of the *Slaney*, as a witness, answered: "I have no authority to agree to any arrangement of that sort, nor do I believe my Government would consent to it; but I think I may venture to receive him on to this ship, and convey him to England; if, however, he adopts that plan, I cannot enter into any promise as to the reception he may meet with."

Maitland took care to repeat, several times, that he could not answer for Napoleon's reception in England. Las Cases admits it. As he was leaving the ship he said to Maitland: "Under the circumstances I have little doubt that you will see the Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*"; in answer, according to Las Cases' own statement, Maitland "begged it to be understood that he would not guarantee the permission we demanded being granted"—the permission, that is, to go to the United States. Maitland disclaimed any promise or condition of any sort, and it is evident that Las Cases so reported, for Beker writes: "The terms of this" (Maitland's) "statement were not of a nature to reassure us completely as to the intentions of the Cabinet of Saint James. Nothing remained but to invoke the generosity of the English, and to demand at the British hearth an asylum which every nation should have been proud to offer." Napoleon, and all

those about him, knew that the only course left was to appeal to British magnanimity.

Las Cases and Lallemand left the *Bellerophon* at 9.30 a.m. and reached the island of Aix at about eleven, with their report. Napoleon asked the advice of his followers. Savary, Bertrand (inspired by his wife), Gourgaud, and Las Cases advised him to go on board the English ship; Montholon and Lallemand gave expression to doubts as to the reception in England, but they finally joined the prevalent opinion.

Napoleon, who had in fact no need of their advice, kept Gourgaud with him after the others had been dismissed, and showed him the draft of the famous letter to the Prince Regent:—

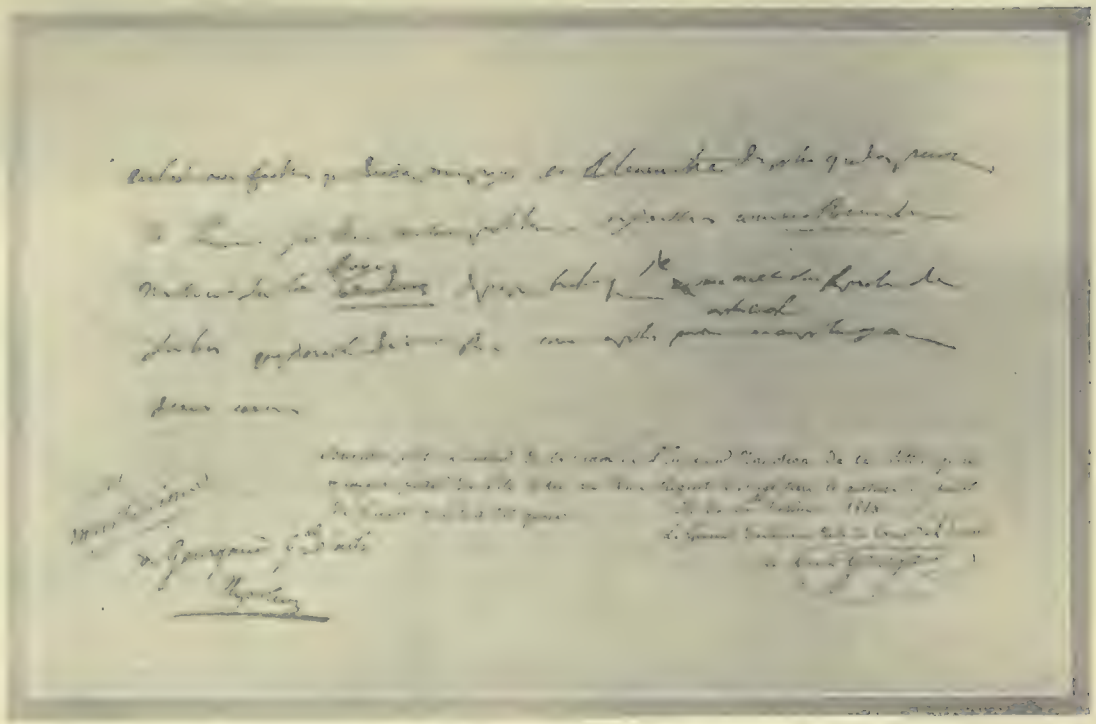
"ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"A victim to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the greatest Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to place myself at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim of Your Royal Highness as of the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

This letter was a masterpiece, and its composition was one of the most dramatic achievements of Napoleon's career.

He sent Las Cases and Gourgaud to the *Bellerophon* at 4 p.m., and they were alongside by about 7 p.m. of the 14th July, 1815. Las Cases took a letter from Bertrand announcing that the Emperor would arrive on the *Bellerophon* soon after dawn on the next morning. Maitland, on reading it, said: "Monsieur Las Cases, you will recollect that I am not authorized to stipulate as to the reception of Buonaparte in England, but that he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent." He answered: "I am perfectly aware of that, and have already



FACSIMILE OF NAPOLEON'S LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT

acquainted the Emperor with what you said on the subject." Maitland regretted afterwards that he had not had this admission put into writing, but there is no doubt of the truth of his account. Captain Sartorious had been present the first time the statement was made; and there is Maitland's letter written the same day to Mr. Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty, in which he says: "That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to Count Las Cases that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort, but that all I can do is to carry him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as His Royal Highness may deem expedient."

This dispatch went with General Gourgaud and the Themistocles letter, on the *Slaney*, on the evening of the 14th July.

On the same 14th July, Bonnefoux received fresh instructions from Comte de Jaucourt, the new Minister of Marine appointed by Louis XVIII. He was to keep Napoleon on the *Saale* (which he had already left), to prevent him from landing on French soil, and to forbid his communicating with the English ship. In the ordinary course this letter should have reached Rochefort not later than the 18th. It was on that day that Napoleon gave orders to approach the *Bellerophon* a second time, but there is no record of the contents of the letter having then been already communicated to him, and we are bound therefore, whatever may be our suspicions, to assume that he had no knowledge of it. Bonnefoux was doing his best for the ex-Emperor. He wrote to Philibert, of the *Saale*, at 1 p.m. on the 14th, a secret letter asking for confidential news of Napoleon's situation, whether he had already gone to the *Bellerophon*. At 3 p.m. he replied to Jaucourt, and asserted that Napoleon was still on the *Saale*, which he knew was not the case.

Bonnefoux allowed some further time to elapse, and then at 8 p.m. he wrote to Philibert as follows:—[1]

[1] This important letter is in the Earl of Crawford's collection.

"ROCHEFORT, 14 *July*, 1815. 8 *p.m.*

"To Captain Philibert, in the roads at the island of Aix.

"Express service.

"MONSIEUR LE COMMANDANT,

"I am in tortures of anxiety. I do not know if the Emperor has gone, and I have received an order to arrest him if he is on land.

"If he is on the island of Aix, please at once inform him, and him alone, of this cruel disposition, that he may determine immediately to depart. I am not permitted to exercise any influence upon the determination of this unfortunate Monarch, nevertheless, I now repeat with deep conviction that the best and only course that remains for him to take is to go on board the English ship. I insist the more upon this advice because one of my friends who left Paris on Tuesday evening reports to me that Lord Wellington has replied to the Commissioners charged with the arrangement of the armistice, that if Napoleon went to England he would be treated with all the regard that he has a right to expect from a great and generous nation."

Having sent forward this warning letter, Bonnefoux still delayed the execution of his orders. He did not leave Rochefort till 11 p.m., and then went to the *Saale*, pretending that he did not know Napoleon had already landed at Aix. He reached the *Saale* at 1 a.m., and on learning that Napoleon had given orders to start at dawn, he found himself overcome with fatigue, and rested on the ship for the night. Philibert, however, between 1 and 2 a.m. of the 15th July sent to Beker the following note:—[1]

"*Saale*, AIX ROADS, 15*th July*, 1815.

"GENERAL,

"I have the honour to send to you the letter I have just received from the maritime Prefect. I beg you to

[1] The original is in the collection of the Earl of Crawford.

EMBARKATION OF NAPOLEON ON THE "BELLEROPHON"

From an aquatint by Jazet

communicate it immediately to the Emperor, that he may see how urgent it is that he should not lose a minute in embarking. I have given all the necessary orders for that purpose, both for the brig and for the boats which have been drawn up on the beach.

"The Captain Commandant,

"PHILIBERT.

"P.S.—I beg you to return to me, by the bearer, the letter of the Prefect."

Bonnefoux wished his warning letter to be returned to him, lest the assistance he was giving to Napoleon should come to the ears of the Government.

Beker received this letter before the departure of Napoleon, and we may be confident he communicated its contents at once. No time was lost. Already in the darkness, between 2 and 3 a.m., the domestics had gone on board the brig *Epervier*, and before the sun had shown his face, at 3 a.m. of the 15th July, Napoleon left the island of Aix and stepped into the barge which was to take him to the brig, on the way to the English ship.

He would not have remained another hour even if he had known that he was going to St. Helena. He was in danger of immediate arrest, and would have fled to worse places than St. Helena to avoid the ignominy of such a capture.

Napoleon left Malmaison just in time to escape the Prussians, and France just in time to avoid arrest by the French. As he was determined not to attempt any escape as a private fugitive, he never had any alternative but to give himself up unreservedly to his most generous enemy, with whom he knew that his life was safe. He had contemplated this course ever since the abdication at Fontainebleau in 1814, and, after his final defeat, had never seriously considered any other proceeding.

CHAPTER III

H.M.S. "BELLEROPHON"

NAPOLEON was now once more dressed in the well-known uniform of the Chasseurs of the Guard, the green coat with scarlet cuffs and green lapels turned back and edged with scarlet, and the skirts hooked back, with a white waistcoat, white breeches, long boots, and the famous hat, with its tricoloured cockade; he wore his customary decorations, the star of the Legion of Honour, the small cross, and the iron crown. He was anxious about his appearance when presenting himself on the British ship; while on board the brig he asked Madame de Montholon, touching the sleeve of the coat, "Is it blue or green?" He had not a good eye for colour, and wished to be assured by a lady that there had been no mistake in his dress.

At daybreak the *Epervier* was sighted from the *Bellerophon*, and at the same time the *Superb*, with the flag of Sir Henry Hotham, was observed to be approaching. At 5.30 a.m. the *Epervier* was about a mile away and making little progress, and Maitland sent the ship's barge, which brought Napoleon, with his chief followers, soon after six o'clock.

Maitland had no instructions as to the honours to be paid to the ex-Emperor and therefore gave none, taking advantage of the rule on British ships that no salutes should be given before 8 a.m. or after sunset. In April, 1814, when Napoleon was about to embark on the *Undaunted* for Elba, Captain Ussher endeavoured to avoid giving a salute, on the ground that the hour of sunset had passed, but on that occasion

Napoleon insisted, and Ussher had to accord the coveted honour. Maitland, with the Admiral in the offing, was glad of the excuse for avoiding a decision.

Bertrand came on deck alone, to inform Maitland that the Emperor was in the boat, and when that ceremonial had been completed, Napoleon came up the ship's side. As he stepped on the deck he took off his hat, advanced to Maitland, who was surrounded by his officers, and said in a firm voice: "I am come to throw myself on the protection of your Prince and your laws." Maitland took him at once into the after-cabin, which was placed at his disposal. He expressed appreciation of the cabin and paid compliments to the good looks of Mrs. Maitland, whose portrait he noticed. He then asked to have the officers presented to him, and they were introduced in turn. Amongst them was a man who was to be closely associated with his fortunes, Surgeon O'Meara. Napoleon asked each officer the usual Imperial questions, as to the place of his birth, his rank and his service. Soon afterwards he went over the ship, asking Maitland many questions and showing considerable knowledge of nautical matters, as he had done, to the surprise of Ussher, on the *Undaunted*.

At 9 a.m. an English breakfast was served of tea, coffee, cold meat, etc., which Napoleon evidently did not enjoy, whereupon Maitland ordered his meals to be prepared by his own people, at his own hour, and on his own plate.

The *Superb* arrived at half-past ten, and Maitland went to report to Admiral Hotham, who said to him, "As you have entered into no conditions whatever, there cannot be a doubt that you will obtain the approbation of His Majesty's Government."

On Maitland's return Napoleon, keeping up Imperial forms, sent Grand Marshal Bertrand to the *Superb* to pay his respects, and the Admiral returned the visit in the afternoon, being presented to the Emperor by the Grand Marshal. Dinner was served at five o'clock, upon the Imperial plate,

with a menu in acordance with French customs, the cooking superintended by the Emperor's *chef*. "When dinner was announced," says Maitland, "Buonaparte, viewing himself as a Royal personage, which he continued to do while on board the *Bellerophon*, and which, under the circumstances, I considered it would have been both ungracious and uncalled for in me to have disputed, led the way into the dining-room. He seated himself in the centre at one side of the table, requesting Sir Henry Hotham to sit at his right hand, and Madame Bertrand on his left. . . Two of the ward-room officers dined daily at the table, by invitation from Buonaparte, conveyed through Count Bertrand. When dinner was over, a cup of strong coffee was handed round; he then rose and went into the after-cabin, asking the Admiral and all the party to accompany him, the ladies among the rest." The man who arrogated to himself, when on board a British man-of-war, the position of an Emperor among his subjects, had no intention of living as a private individual again, under any circumstances, in any part of the world. Napoleon's conduct on the *Bellerophon* is a sufficient refutation of the pretence that in England he would have abandoned his Royalty.

On the 16th July Napoleon went on the *Superb* for breakfast. When the barge came alongside, the Emperor sent his Grand Marshal to announce his arrival, and then went up the companion and was received by Sir Henry Hotham on the quarter-deck. A captain's guard was turned out, and the yards were manned — honours which Maitland had not given. Napoleon was shown into the cabin, and the officers presented, and he asked his questions, and then went over the ship. The breakfast was in the English style, and Napoleon ate little of it. On his return to the *Bellerophon* Maitland, at Hotham's suggestion, manned yards.

The *Bellerophon*, accompanied by the *Myrmidon*, which carried the minor members of Napoleon's suite, did not get out of Basque Roads till 6 p.m. of the 16th July, thirty-six

NAPOLEON'S FIRST VIEW OF ENGLAND

Caricature by George Cruikshank

hours after Napoleon had given himself up. Admiral Hotham appears to have desired that the British Government should have time to consider what should be done with Napoleon before he arrived off the English coast. The ship made but slow progress; Ushant was not reached till the 23rd, a week after leaving Basque Roads. Napoleon gazed long at France, but as on a similar occasion, when passing the Italian coast on H.M.S. *Undaunted* in 1814, he said nothing.

After the first day he discarded the military boots and appeared in the customary green uniform, with silk stockings and gold-buckled shoes. He was lethargic while on board—went to bed soon after eight, did not rise for twelve hours, and slept sometimes during the day on the sofa in his cabin. At night one of his suite slept on a mattress outside the cabin door, "and the same etiquette," says Montholon, "was observed on board the *Bellerophon* as had been done at the Elysée; in this arrangement Captain Maitland acquiesced. Two sentinels as a guard of honour were stationed, by his orders, at the entrance to the ante-chamber." Las Cases says: "Napoleon was, in fact, an Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*."

At 8 p.m. of the 23rd July the Dartmoor hills were visible, and Maitland reported the fact to Napoleon, whom he found wearing a flannel dressing-gown and about to go to bed. He put on an overcoat and went on deck to have his first view of England. Early in the morning of the 24th the *Bellerophon* was anchored in Torbay. Napoleon was so polite as to find a resemblance in the scenery to that of the bay of Portoferraio, Elba.

The *Slaney* was lying at anchor, with Gourgaud still on board. The *Slaney*, like the *Bellerophon*, had made a slow voyage, five days to Ushant and seven to Plymouth, with the result that the news of Napoleon's surrender had reached London before her arrival. The captain, Sartorious, had at once gone ashore and reported to Admiral Lord Keith,

Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Squadron, who sent him on to London. Gourgaud was not allowed to land, and as he would not permit Sartorious to take with him the original of the Themistocles letter, saying that his duty was to deliver it personally to the Prince Regent, Sartorious had to be content with a copy. The *Slaney*, in accordance with the order of Lord Keith, went on to Torbay on the 23rd, to await there the arrival of the *Bellerophon*.

Keith sent Maitland the strictest injunctions that no person whatever, whether in His Majesty's service or not, was to be allowed to go on board of his ship. Keith added: "You may say to Napoleon, that I am under the greatest personal obligations to him for his attention to my nephew, who was taken and brought before him at Belle Alliance, and who must have died, if he had not ordered a surgeon to dress him immediately, and sent him to a hut." This referred to Captain Elphinstone, who was wounded at Waterloo, and brought to Napoleon, who ordered his hurt to be attended to. Napoleon recollected the occurrence.

From the little village of Brixham a number of boats put out with sightseers desirous of obtaining a glimpse of Napoleon, who appeared at the gangways and showed an inclination to gratify their curiosity, in order to make a good impression. On the next day, the 25th, the crowds were greater, and Maitland was obliged to put guard-boats out to keep the people at a distance. Napoleon repeatedly showed himself, and took off his hat to any well-dressed woman he saw. Already the newspapers were speaking with confidence of St. Helena as his probable destination.

On the 26th Captain Sartorious returned from London with orders that the ships were to go to Plymouth. The *Bellerophon*, *Slaney*, and *Myrmidon* reached Plymouth the same day. This voyage to the west, further away from London, was not reassuring to the French, who now began to fear that they were not to be allowed to land.

The crowd of spectators at Plymouth was extraordinary.

THE "BELLEROPHON" AT TORBAY

After Captain Tobin, R.N.

The frigates *Liffey* and *Eurotas* were anchored on each side of the *Bellerophon*, and all three vessels put out boats to keep off visitors; volleys of musketry were fired to frighten them, but the crush grew worse every day. On Sunday, the 30th July, there were as many as a thousand craft of various kinds, and it was not possible for the guard boats to keep them all off, although they rowed head on against the nearest boats; one of them was capsized, and a man drowned. The sailors of the *Bellerophon* exposed a black board on which Napoleon's occupation at the time was written in chalk. "At breakfast." . . . "In the cabin." . . . "Dictating to his officers." . . . "At dinner." . . . "Coming on deck," etc.

The rumours about St. Helena became more confident every day. On the 31st July Maitland obtained the first positive information that St. Helena was to be the destination. Napoleon was prepared for the news; on being informed by Maitland, he protested, but without exhibiting any shock or surprise. Shortly afterwards Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, arrived, and were shown into the cabin, where they remained with Napoleon and Bertrand for three-quarters of an hour. It was their painful duty to announce that the ex-Emperor would be styled "General Bonaparte," and sent to the island of St. Helena.

Keith read out, translated into French, a letter he had received from Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, which contained the following announcement:—

"It would be inconsistent with our duty to this country, and to His Majesty's Allies, if we were to leave to General Buonaparte the means or opportunity of again disturbing the peace of Europe, and renewing all the calamities of war: it is therefore unavoidable that he should be restrained in his personal liberty to whatever extent may be necessary to secure our first and paramount object.

"The island of St. Helena has been selected for his future residence. The climate is healthy, and its local situation will admit of his being treated with more indulgence than would be compatible with adequate security elsewhere."[1]

Napoleon made a speech in reply. He said:—

"I am come here voluntarily to place myself on the hearth of your nation, and to claim the rights of hospitality. I am not even a prisoner of war. If I were a prisoner of war, you would be bound to treat me according to the law of nations. But I am come to this country a passenger on board one of your ships of war after a previous negotiation with the Commander. If he had told me I was to be a prisoner I should not have come. I asked him if he was willing to receive me and my suite on board and to carry me to England. Admiral Maitland answered that he would—and this after having received and after telling me that he had received, the special order of his Government concerning me. *C'était donc un piège qu'on m'a tendu.* In coming on board a British ship of war, I confided myself to the hospitality of the British people as much as if I had entered one of their towns. *Un vaisseau, un village, tout cela est égal. Quant à l'île de Sainte-Hélène, c'est l'arrêt de ma mort.* . . . Let me be put in a country house in the centre of the island, thirty leagues from any sea. Place a Commissioner about me to examine my correspondence and to report my actions, and if the Prince Regent should require my parole, perhaps I would give it. There I could have a certain degree of liberty, and I could enjoy the liberty of literature. In St. Helena I should not live three months. No, I will not go to St. Helena." He then proceeded to assert that he had acted quite voluntarily. "What was there to force me to the step I took? The tricolour flag was still flying at Bordeaux, at Nantes, at Rochefort. The army has not submitted at this hour. I could have joined it. If I had chosen to remain in France,

[1] Castlereagh's Letters, 3rd series, vol. ii, p. 444.

what could have prevented me from remaining concealed for years among a people who were all attached to me. But I preferred to settle as a private individual in England."

Bunbury went to London to report the terms of this appeal. A few days later Napoleon put the substance of it into writing, as follows :—

"I here protest solemnly, in the face of Heaven and of mankind, against the violence done me, against the violation of my most sacred rights, in disposing by force of my person and my liberty.

"I came voluntarily on board the *Bellerophon ;* I am not a prisoner ; I am the guest of England. I came on board even at the instigation of the Captain who said he had the orders of his Government to receive me, and to conduct me to England with my suite if that was agreeable to me. I presented myself in good faith to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. Once on board the *Bellerophon* I was on the hearth of the British people. If the Government when giving orders to the Captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag. If this act should be consummated it will be in vain for the English to boast to Europe of their loyalty, their laws, their liberty. British good faith will be gone in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon.* I appeal to history ; it will say that an enemy who for twenty years made war against the British nation, came freely, in his misfortune, to seek an asylum under her laws. What more brilliant proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence ? But what return did England make to such magnanimity ? They feigned to proffer a hospitable hand to that enemy, and when he had delivered himself up in good faith, they sacrificed him.

"NAPOLEON."

As we have shown, Maitland told Las Cases that he was authorized to take Napoleon to England, but that he could not give any guarantee as to his reception, this qualification being repeated and emphasized, and quite understood; it was regarded as a rebuff by the party of fugitives at Aix, who turned at once to consider plans for escape. The charge of perfidy now brought against Maitland was for public consumption. In private, Napoleon said to Maitland: "Certainly I made no conditions; how could an individual enter into terms with a nation? As for you, Capitaine, I have no cause of complaint; your conduct to me has been that of a man of honour." He was, indeed, so pleased with Maitland, that he said he wished to ask the Prince Regent to promote him to Rear-Admiral. And when Maitland complained to Montholon of the insinuation of Las Cases that he had promised that Napoleon would be well received, Montholon replied: "Las Cases attributes the Emperor's situation to himself, and is therefore desirous of giving it the best countenance he can; but I assure you that the Emperor is convinced your conduct has been most honourable." In the *Mémorial*, Las Cases gives the case away. He says: "When there was no resource left but to accept the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*, it was not, perhaps, without a kind of secret inward satisfaction that he saw himself irresistibly driven to it by the force of events."[1]

At St. Helena Napoleon was in the habit of asserting that he would have been well received in Russia or in Austria. But, as already noticed, he told Hortense as early as 21st June, that he would never trust himself to either Power, and now on the *Bellerophon*, when Russia was mentioned in conversation, he hastily exclaimed, "*La Russie, Dieu m'en garde!*" In a confidential report sent at this time from Paris to London, it was asserted that when the Allied Sovereigns were asked for an armistice, the King of Prussia and the Czar of Russia demanded as a preliminary that

[1] "Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène," May 26th, 1816.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,
from a Drawing by his Chamberlain L.t Col.l De Planat, July 25 1815,
while on board H.M.S BELLEROPHON Cap.t Maitland, in TORBAY.
with a view of Berry head & the Bellerophon at anchor in Torbay.

THE "BELLEROPHON" AT ANCHOR OFF BERRY HEAD: WITH A PORTRAIT OF NAPOLEON

By Planat

Napoleon should be put to death, while the Emperor Francis voted for imprisonment for life.[1] Napoleon was well acquainted with the feelings of these Sovereigns towards him; he knew that Wellington had spoken out strongly against the death sentence, and that among the English at least his life would be safe. From the first he foresaw that, St. Helena having been much spoken of during the Elba sojourn, that island would probably now be his destination. With that expectation, he fled from the Continent to the milder embrace of the most generous of his enemies, to be guarded by British sailors, the only people in the world amongst whom he had no fear for his life.

The proposal to send Napoleon to St. Helena had been first suggested by Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, on the 15th July, before it was known in England that he had surrendered himself. In a letter to Lord Castlereagh, who was in Paris, Liverpool said that England was prepared to take charge of the person of Napoleon on behalf of the Allies, and that the Cape or St. Helena were the most suitable places for his detention.[2]

On the 20th July, Liverpool received the news of Napoleon's surrender. He wrote to Castlereagh as follows:—

"FIFE HOUSE, *July 20th*, 1815.

"MY DEAR CASTLEREAGH,

"I have this moment received your letter of the 17th instant, with the intelligence of the surrender of Bonaparte, of which I wish you joy.

"We are all decidedly of opinion that it would not answer to confine him in this country. Very nice legal questions might arise upon the subject, which would be particularly embarrassing. But, independent of these considerations, you know enough of the feelings of people in this country not to doubt he would become an object of curiosity imme-

[1] Wellington, Supp. Desp. XI, 45.
[2] Castlereagh's Letters, 3rd series, vol. ii, p. 430.

diately, and possibly of compassion, in the course of a few months; and the circumstance of his being here, or, indeed, anywhere in Europe, would contribute to keep up a certain degree of ferment in France.

"Since I wrote to you last, Lord Melville and myself have conversed with Mr. Barrow on the subject, and he decidedly recommends St. Helena as the place in the world the best calculated for the confinement of such a person. There is a very fine citadel there, in which he might reside. The situation is particularly healthy. There is only one place in the circuit of the island where ships can anchor, and we have the power of excluding neutral vessels altogether, if we should think it necessary. At such a distance and in such a place, all intrigue would be impossible; and, being withdrawn so far from the European world, he would very soon be forgotten."

On the 28th he wrote: "St. Helena is perhaps the only place in the world from which neutrals can be excluded without any material inconvenience."[1]

In England Napoleon would have been too near to France; his presence there, "or indeed anywhere in Europe, would contribute to keep up a certain degree of ferment in France" and Europe; and it was a great advantage to be able to exclude neutral vessels from the place of his detention.

On the 24th July Castlereagh wrote from Paris, in answer to Liverpool, that he believed the Allies would make no difficulty about leaving the custody of Napoleon to England. When this reply was received the final decision was taken, and Sir Henry Bunbury was sent with it to Plymouth. The plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, at Paris, accepted the British suggestion, almost without a discussion. They demanded permission to send Commissioners to represent each Power, and on the 2nd August, 1815, a Convention was signed regulating the conditions of the captivity.

[1] Castlereagh's Letters, 3rd series, vol. ii, pp. 434, 439.

NAPOLEON ON THE "BELLEROPHON"

From an engraving by C. Turner after the painting by J. Eastlake, afterwards President of the Royal Academy

Napoleon was to be the prisoner of all the Allies, who would send Commissioners to St. Helena, but the custody of his person was confided to England.

Napoleon did not seem to be prostrated by the news of his fate. He appeared at the gangway as usual, to show himself to the spectators, and in his talk at dinner he gave no signs of dejection. His followers were in a state of consternation. None of them had suspected they were to be exiled to a small island in the South Atlantic, perhaps for the remainder of their lives. Even Bertrand for some time hesitated, while his wife openly declared that she would never go to St. Helena, and appealed to him to support her views. When he finally refused, she lost her self-control, and in a fit of frenzy tried to jump out of the window into the sea, but was caught hold of by Montholon, who had observed her intention; there followed an attack of hysterics, followed by a day in bed, when she abused Napoleon roundly for his selfishness. "If his ends are served," she said, "he does not care what becomes of other people."

The Montholons behaved with more politeness to their master. Madame complained merely that as she had supposed they would be allowed to land in England—either to remain, or as a stage on the way to America—she had not brought a sufficient supply of clothes, having intended to obtain what she required in London.

Las Cases, who had never doubted that they would be permitted to remain in England, was the most disappointed of all. He had boasted that he understood the English nation and could guarantee the cordiality of their welcome. St. Helena was a terrible shock. He writes, on hearing the news:—

"Never can I depict the effect of these terrible words! A cold sweat overspread my whole frame: it was an unexpected sentence of death. Unpitying executioners had seized me: I was torn from all that attached me to life. I extended my arms sorrowfully towards those who were dear to me, but

in vain: my fate was inevitable." . . . "It turned my hair grey." And again: "Our situation had now become truly frightful; our sufferings beyond every power of description; our existence was about to cease with regard to Europe, our country, families, and friends, as well as our enjoyments and habits. It is true, we were not forced to follow the Emperor; but our choice was that of martyrs; the question was a renunciation of faith, or death." When Napoleon asked whether he was prepared to go with him, Las Cases, while protesting his devotion, allowed himself to observe that "there were a great many of us round his person, while only three were permitted to go. As some people," he said, "considered it a crime in me to leave my family, it was necessary with regard to the latter, and my own conscience, to know that I could be useful and agreeable to him—that, in fact, I required to be chosen." It may be concluded that if Napoleon had not selected him he would have rejoiced.

Napoleon kept stating in the most positive manner, "*Je n'irais pas à Ste-Hélène*," and declined to name those who were to go with him, but he asked Maitland many questions about the island, its size and climate, and the feasibility of taking horse exercise. He can have had little hope of any change in the Government's decision, especially when it was known that the Allies at Paris had expressed instant agreement.

The voyage was to be made in the *Northumberland*, the *Bellerophon* being unfit for the voyage. She carried the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who had been appointed Naval Commander-in-Chief of the Cape and St. Helena station. While the *Northumberland* was being prepared for the voyage, efforts were made by English sympathizers with Napoleon to set the law in motion on his behalf. A well-known barrister, Capel Lofft, applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus, but it was held that no such writ would apply. Then a *subpœna duces tecum* was obtained from the Court of Queen's Bench, for Napoleon to be brought before

the court to give evidence in a naval suit. The lawyer who brought this document from London endeavoured to serve it on Lord Keith, but Keith escaped on board the *Prometheus*, and was protected there by the ship's boats, which kept off all intruders. Keith, who had been told a Habeas Corpus had been obtained, wrote to Maitland: "I have been chased all day by a lawyer with a Habeas Corpus: he is landed at Cawsand, and may come off in a sailing-boat during the night; of course, keep all sorts of boats off, as I will do the like in whatever ship I may be in." It would have mattered little if Keith had been caught, but the affair attracted a good deal of attention. The position of Napoleon was without precedent. In the opinion of Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, "*Salus omnium Reipublicae* must be the *suprema lex* as to this case." That being so, an Act of Parliament was necessary, as Lord Liverpool observed, "to settle any doubts which might arise"; and such an Act was accordingly passed through both Houses in the next year.

On the 5th August the *Northumberland* was seen approaching, and the whole squadron, with Keith in the *Tonnant*, stood in to Torbay and anchored to the westward of Berry Head. Having made his protest, Napoleon now told Maitland he would go peaceably on the *Northumberland*. He also instructed Bertrand to make out the list of the persons he desired to take to St. Helena with him. The orders were that he might take three principals and twelve domestics, but a few more in both categories were ultimately allowed. Gourgaud managed to take the place which had originally been given to Planat. Gourgaud, as the person who had brought the Themistocles letter, had been kept on board the *Bellerophon*, while Planat, to make room, was, on the 28th July, placed on the *Liffey*, and later on he was taken to the *Eurotas*. Gourgaud, being on the *Bellerophon* at the critical moment, made such protestations that his name was substituted for the absent Planat. In the original list only Bertrand, Montholon and Planat were named, Las Cases

having made the excuse about his family, already quoted: but he felt bound to pretend that his devotion impelled him to the uttermost sacrifice, and Napoleon accepted him. In addition to the twelve domestics Madame Bertrand was allowed a nurse for her children, and Madame Montholon another for hers.

Napoleon kept his sword, but his pistols and the swords and pistols of his suite were taken. Keith's order was: "Pistols, guns, etc., must, as in all instances, be removed for the safety of the ship, but the arms are carefully to be kept, and restored at a proper occasion." The baggage was perfunctorily examined. Each trunk was opened, and Cockburn's secretary passed his hand down the inside, but nothing was disturbed. A box containing 4000 napoleons was detained, and put in the charge of Maitland, who subsequently handed it over to Sir Hudson Lowe to take to St. Helena.

At 11 a.m. of the 7th August Lord Keith arrived on the *Bellerophon* to accompany Napoleon to the *Northumberland*. At 1 p.m. Napoleon left his cabin, and as he crossed the quarter-deck the guard presented arms, and three ruffles of the drum were given, the salute to a General. Maitland's account of the last scene on the *Bellerophon* is as follows: "He walked out of the cabin with a steady, firm step, came up to me, and, taking off his hat, said, 'Captain Maitland, I take this last opportunity of once more returning you my thanks for the manner in which you have treated me while on board the *Bellerophon*, and also to request you will convey them to the officers and ship's company you command'; then turning to the officers, who were standing by me, he added, 'Gentlemen, I have requested your Captain to express my gratitude to you for your attention to me, and to those who have followed my fortunes.' He then went forward to the gangway, and before he went down the ship's side, bowed two or three times to the ship's company, who were collected in the waist and on the forecastle; he was followed by the ladies and the French officers, and lastly by Lord

THE TRANSFER OF NAPOLEON FROM THE "BELLEROPHON" TO THE "NORTHUMBERLAND"

From a contemporary engraving by Bovinet

Keith. After the boat had shoved off, and got the distance of about thirty yards from the ship, he stood up, pulled his hat off, and bowed first to the officers, and then to the men; and immediately sat down and entered into conversation with Lord Keith, with as much apparent composure as if he had been only going from one ship to the other to pay a visit."

palace of Queen Hortense. The Bertrands were accustomed to luxury and even grandeur. When her husband was Governor of the Illyrian Provinces, Madame's carriage was drawn by six horses; and then came the splendours of their apartments, and service, at the Tuileries. But Madame had little more than four months in her proud position at Paris. She was installed on the 20th November, 1813, and left Paris with the Empress Marie Louise on the 30th March, 1814.

The Bertrands had felt bound, by their official position, to follow Napoleon to Elba, but they did so unwillingly and took no pains to conceal their vexation. During the Hundred Days they were installed once more in the Tuileries. After Waterloo they had no alternative but to follow Napoleon, for Bertrand was in danger of proscription, and had to leave France. After his departure he was tried for high treason and condemned to death. Madame Bertrand had been sanguine as to the reception of the party in England, and was bitterly disappointed. She made her husband write to Lord Keith that he expected to be allowed to return to England after a year's exile. The children's education had to be considered. As yet they were in the nursery, the eldest, Napoleon, being no more than seven, Hortense five, and Henri three, but they could not be kept indefinitely in the isolation of St. Helena. Madame had also a social grievance, as she considered the Montholons inferior to her in position.

Madame Bertrand was a tall woman, of a good presence and distinguished manners. She was always *La Grande Maréchale*. She could be very agreeable and was liked by the British officers: but occasionally she gave too free play to her emotions, and she was incorrigibly unpunctual. Bertrand was of medium height, slight in figure, and bald. His abilities were not above the average. He was devoted to his wife and children, a thoroughly happy man in his household, and a frank and agreeable host.

NAPOLEON ON BOARD THE "NORTHUMBERLAND"

From the sketch by Denzil Ibbetson, given by him to Theodore Hook
Now in the collection of A. M. Broadley

Charles Tristan, Marquis de Montholon and Comte de Lee, was born on the 21st July, 1783. His father, a Colonel of Dragoons, and chief huntsman to the Comte de Provence, died in 1788, and the son, aged five, inherited his father's court appointment. His mother married again, taking as second husband de Sémonville, a former Councillor of the Parliament, who amid the storms of the Revolution contrived to be appointed Ambassador to Constantinople, in the year 1792. Before setting out he paid a visit to Corsica, taking with him his stepson, then aged nine. They made the acquaintance of the Bonapartes at Ajaccio; young Montholon met Napoleon, who was on leave from his French regiment. Sémonville was prevailed upon to take Lucien with him, as private secretary, when he returned to Toulon.

In 1799 Montholon entered the Army, but although the Sémonville influence raised him to the rank of Colonel in 1809, he never distinguished himself. He became a Court Chamberlain. In 1811 he was made a Count of the Empire, and in 1812 Napoleon sent him as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Grand Duke of Würzburg, but at this point he incurred the Emperor's displeasure by his marriage with a divorced woman, Madame Roger.

Albine Hélène de Vassal, born in Paris in 1780, was married to Roger, a financier, by whom she had a son, Edouard, born in 1803. In 1809 Roger obtained a legal separation from his wife, and in May, 1812, a decree of divorce. She then married Montholon, on the 2nd July, 1812, and a child was born to them, Charles François Napoléon Tristan, at the end of the year. Napoleon thereupon deprived Montholon of his post at Würzburg and also of his appointment as Chamberlain. He appears to have lived thenceforth on his wife's money, having already run through all that he had inherited.

In 1813 all officers not in employ were sent for, but Montholon excused himself on account of wounds, which he invented for the occasion. In 1814 the dearth of officers was

such that Montholon was given the command of a detachment of troops, some four or five thousand strong. He pilfered 5970 francs (about £240) from the Clermont Ferrand pay-box "for the pay of the troops he commanded, the arrival of the enemy in an hour preventing the re-organization of the payments." On the 16th April, 1814, he announced to his soldiers that as the cries of "*Vive Louis XVIII*" were resounding on every side, he was going to Paris. On the 18th he appeared at Fontainebleau and talked to Napoleon of the great things that the French might still do to defeat the enemy. On the 20th he applied to the new Government for the rank of Brigadier-General, which was not accorded.

Then an awkward enquiry was made with regard to the money he had taken at Clermont Ferrand, and he remained in disgrace during the First Restoration. When Napoleon arrived in Paris on the 20th March, 1815, Montholon attached himself at once to the Imperial dynasty, and on the 5th June obtained the position of *maréchal de camp*. After Waterloo Napoleon found Montholon acting as a chamberlain at the Elysée, and declaring he would follow him to the end of the earth. In truth, Montholon, heavily in debt, was now in danger of proscription, and had therefore, in following Napoleon, everything to gain and nothing to lose.[1]

Montholon was an agreeable and well-mannered man, courtier-like and desirous to please; these good qualities, indeed, he carried to excess, as he was generally known as *le menteur*, a reputation which he abundantly deserved. He was also a spendthrift, eternally in debt.

At St. Helena he jotted down occasional notes in the form of a diary, and when he was in prison at Ham for having taken part in Louis Napoleon's Boulogne escapade, he worked up these scraps of writing into a book, which was published in 1846–7, with the title *Récits de la captivité de l'empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène*. The book contains so much

[1] Masson, "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène," pp. 118, 127.

deliberate falsehood, besides unintentional inaccuracy due to the lapse of time, that it is almost worthless.[1]

Madame de Montholon, like her husband, was of a pliable and gracious nature; she was a sensible as well as a sweet and amiable woman. In her *Souvenirs de Sainte-Hélène* she has some complaints to make, but she is, on the whole, reasonable and kindly. She took with her to St. Helena her son Tristan, aged three, leaving behind Edouard Roger, then at school, aged twelve, and Charles François Frédéric de Montholon, born on the 27th November, 1814, who was considered too young to make the journey, and was confided to a friend in Paris.

Gaspar Gourgaud, born in 1783, was the son of a violinist of the Chapel Royal, and grandson of an actor. His uncle was one of the best-known comedians of the day, using the stage-name of Dugazon, and his aunts were successful actresses. His mother was one of the nurses of the duc de Berry. Gaspar Gourgaud in 1801, aged eighteen, entered the promising career of arms, and was a lieutenant of artillery in 1802. He showed ability in mathematics, and was sent to assist the demonstrator in fortifications at Metz. Then he went through the great campaigns of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, and after some service in Spain, took his part in the Wagram campaign.

Gourgaud was ambitious. He paid his court to the daughter of the Senator Roederer. He obtained one of the appointments of orderly officer to the Emperor, but that was a long way from the position the young lady's father desired for his son-in-law. In the Russian campaign he did his best to attract attention, and was fortunate in discovering the mine which had been laid in the Kremlin, a service which earned for him the title of a baron of the Empire. On his return to Paris he presented himself with pride to the Senator,

[1] Gonnard, "Les Origines de la légende Napoléonienne," p. 170, says it is not worth much. Masson, "Autour de Sainte-Hélène," Series I, p. xxix, says it is worthless.

honesty, a violent reaction, and he went to his diary every evening to put down the naked facts in a spirit of defiance. His journal is thus a document of the first importance. Unfortunately, it was not published until 1899, and its editing leaves much to be desired.

Emmanuel Auguste Dieudonné, Marquis de Las Cases, was the oldest of the followers, and three years older than Napoleon, being forty-nine years of age; born in 1766, at the Château de Las Cases, near Revel, Languedoc, he belonged to the old nobility. He went to the military school, Paris, in 1780, and left it to join the Navy in 1782, two years before Napoleon entered the same school. He saw service in the West Indies, visiting Martinique, where he made the acquaintance of Josephine, and spending three years at San Domingo. In 1789 he was a Lieutenant; in 1790 he was presented to Louis XVIII. Next year he emigrated to Worms, and in 1792 took refuge in England. There he gave lessons in French. In 1799 he published, under the name of Le Sage, an "Atlas historique et généalogique," which gave in convenient form the successions of the dynasties of the world. He was very proud of this work, which was a great success, and supplied him with the funds necessary for his marriage to Mademoiselle de Kergariou. In 1802 he was in France; several editions of the "Atlas" appeared, although the price was 120 francs (£4 16s.). In 1809 he obtained the appointment of a chamberlain to the Emperor, and in 1810 the title of Count. In 1814 he was in command of the 10th legion of the National Guard of Paris. During the First Restoration he was promoted to the rank of Captain in the Navy, and obtained the title of a Councillor of State, which was confirmed in 1815 by Napoleon.

When Napoleon returned from Waterloo he found Las Cases exercising, for the first time, the functions of a Court chamberlain. Learning that Napoleon intended to go to the United States or England, Las Cases had determined to join him. His knowledge of English would make him a

TWO VIEWS OF NAPOLEON ON BOARD THE "NORTHUMBERLAND"

From a sketch by Denzil Ibbetson

valued member of the party. He would never have volunteered for St. Helena, but found he could not withdraw, and then made up his mind to write a book about Napoleon which would be a greater success than even the " Historical Atlas."

The " Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène " is a day-by-day record of the life, and conversation, of Napoleon for the first fifteen months of his captivity. Las Cases dictated most of this material to his son, a boy of fifteen. In all that relates to Las Cases himself, or to St. Helena, the book is touched by a persistent vein of falsehood. No reliance can be placed upon any statement contained in it upon those subjects. The author was spoken of amongst his colleagues at Longwood as the Jesuit. The conversations, and dictated pieces, in the " Mémorial," present Napoleon's explanations of his career, and as such have a melancholy interest. The rest of the book is distorted with malicious misrepresentation.

Las Cases was of diminutive stature, five feet one inch in height : " a little old quiz, nervous, and fidgety," was Bunbury's description. He had the culture of the old nobility, with considerable conversational abilities, and Napoleon enjoyed his society. He was a worshipper who approached on bended knee, and Napoleon could no longer appreciate any less subservient attitude.

Not one of these followers was a fit companion for the great Napoleon. Bertrand had nothing in him. Montholon, as Bunbury remarked, was " rather insignificant," a mere courtier. Gourgaud was " a youngish man, with a smart genteel air, and somewhat of a coxcomb." It was terrible for Napoleon to have no more suitable companions, to be reduced to the effeminate Las Cases for his one resource and solace.

Two mediocrities, one of whom was afterwards condemned to death, took shelter under his wing ; two men of some small ability and greater vanity joined him in the hope of sharing his celebrity, little dreaming they were to be sent to St.

Helena. That is the pitiful tale. Napoleon had not a single friend in the world; there was not a man above the rank of a flunkey who was willing to accept a permanent position in history at the price of exile at his side. The conqueror of Europe had fallen to the lowest of all possible depths. He could confer immortality, and there were none to accept it. It was not merely St. Helena that was feared, for it had been the same story when he went to Elba. Drouot was the only disinterested volunteer on that occasion, and he soon made efforts to get away and, after Waterloo, he preferred to stand his trial for high treason rather than again make one of Napoleon's Court. No man of character and position could submit, without good recompense, to the servile humiliation that was exacted by the Emperor Napoleon.

Barry Edward O'Meara, Napoleon's physician, was born in Ireland in 1786, of respectable parents. He was a Protestant. In 1804, at the age of eighteen, he was assistant surgeon to the 62nd Regiment in Sicily. In 1808 he acted as second in a duel, was court-martialled, and dismissed the Army. Then he became a naval surgeon, and was on the *Goliath* and *Bellerophon* with Maitland, who thought highly of him.

Napoleon took with him from Malmaison a young doctor named Louis Pierre Maingault, a pupil of Corvisart and recommended by the famous physician. He had agreed to accompany the Emperor to the United States, with a salary of £480. On the voyage from Rochefort Maingault was prostrated with sea-sickness, and the seasoned sailor O'Meara had to attend to Planat and others of the Imperial following. O'Meara was thus brought under the notice of Napoleon, who engaged him in frequent conversation, in Italian. When, on arrival at Torbay, Maingault heard that the Emperor was to be sent to St. Helena, he very naturally declined to abandon a promising career in Paris, for exile to a lonely spot in the South Atlantic. O'Meara, an obscure Navy surgeon, was glad to step into his place, and Napoleon also was

satisfied with the change. He could not tolerate an unwilling attendant; he liked to have among his suite one with whom he could talk Italian, a language which none of the others understood; and the sympathetic attitude which O'Meara had already evinced, gave him the expectation of being able to make use of the Irishman for his own purpose.

O'Meara—who had doubtless already expressed his own wishes—was formally asked, through Savary, whether he would be willing to take the place of Maingault. He replied that he would have to consult his captain. Maitland approved, and recommended his surgeon to Napoleon, both for his professional ability and for his personal character. Lord Keith's consent was given, and O'Meara obtained from him a verbal assurance that as surgeon to Napoleon he would not lose his pay or his status in the Navy, but would remain a British officer.

The two positions were incompatible. It was practically certain that O'Meara would, sooner or later, find it impossible to reconcile his confidential relations with Napoleon and his duty as a British officer. A letter which he received about this time affords an explanation of the reasons which led to his being placed in so trying a situation. The extract in the British Museum is undated, but the text shows that the letter must have been written when O'Meara was on the *Bellerophon*, while Napoleon was on board. It is as follows:—

"My dear Barry,

"Thanks for your kind letter which was so extremely interesting that I shewed it to Lord Melville, who made some corrections in it and then expressly permitted and was well pleased that I should insert it in the 'Sun' of to-morrow. This will do you no harm. You will on no account mention a hint of this to a soul, except your Captain if you find that necessary for your justification in having written. I cannot tell you now my reasons for printing it. When we meet

you will find them good as they are partly political. It is the highest authority that did it.

"Yours truly,

"JOHN FINLAISON."

There is a note on the opposite page, in the handwriting of Sir Hudson Lowe: "When Mr. O'Meara was under a *Naval* Superior it was thought proper and decorous he should inform that superior of what he might have been writing about. When under a *Military* Superior this Rule became no longer necessary." [1]

Mr. Finlaison was a friend of O'Meara's who was employed in the Admiralty. Lord Melville, the First Lord, wished to obtain, through the O'Meara-Finlaison correspondence, first-hand information with regard to Napoleon. Finlaison was instructed to inform O'Meara that Lord Melville was interested in his letters, that they would do him no harm, and that he was not to reveal to anybody, except, if he thought it necessary, his Captain, that he was making these communications. They had for him the great value of placing him in direct touch with the heads of the Navy. O'Meara went to St. Helena in a triple capacity. He was Napoleon's medical attendant, an officer in the British Navy, and an Admiralty spy.

At St. Helena he wrote down every evening an account of the day's events. Much of his diary was copied out and sent to Mr. Finlaison; other portions were reproduced by a copying machine bought in Jamestown, and were forwarded clandestinely through a friend on one of His Majesty's ships to O'Meara's agent in England, W. Holmes. Eighteen manuscript volumes still exist, and extracts from them have been published in the "Century Magazine," in February, March, and April, 1900; they cover the period from April 18th, 1816, to February 8th, 1817. The remainder of the original manuscript has not been found. This diary O'Meara cut down to about one-third, and altered very considerably,

[1] British Museum, 20231, p. 15; 20232, p. 245.

THE TRACK OF THE "NORTHUMBERLAND"

for publication, in 1822, as "A Voice from St. Helena." The changes he introduced were designed to convey a false impression of events and motives. It is this book, more than any other, that has given the world its erroneous belief in the brutality of the English treatment of Napoleon.[1]

O'Meara's manners were assuming and familiar, and he had a coarse mind. There are letters of his in the British Museum, written about a lady, his patient, which place him very low among the members of his profession.

Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn was the second son of Sir James Cockburn, Bart. He was born in 1772, went to sea in 1786, and was a Lieutenant in 1793. He was at the siege of Toulon in Admiral Hood's flagship, the *Victory*, and was present at the battle of Cape St. Vincent in 1797. He saw various service in the East Indies, the West Indies, and off the coast of France. In 1812 he was a Rear-Admiral, and took part in the war with the United States. He was present at the battle of Bladensburg, and joined his naval force to the troops of Major-General Ross for the expedition against Washington, where they burned a number of Government buildings. Made a K.C.B. on 2nd January, 1815, he returned to England on May 4th and was on the point of sailing to assume the naval command at the Cape and St. Helena when Napoleon gave himself up.[2]

Captain Ross was his Flag-Captain. His wife was Cockburn's sister-in-law. Ross was liked by his French guests, although he could not speak their language.

Sir George Rideout Bingham, 1777–1833, entered the 69th Foot as Ensign in 1793, in Corsica. In 1803 he was made Lieut.-Colonel of the newly raised 2nd Battalion of the 53rd Regiment, and went through the Peninsular War from 1809 to its termination, with distinction. In 1815 he was appointed Brigadier-General and second in command at

[1] For a complete repudiation of O'Meara as an authority, except when he is repeating the conversations of Napoleon, see "Les Origines de la légende Napoléonienne," by Philippe Gonnard, pp. 142 *et seq.*

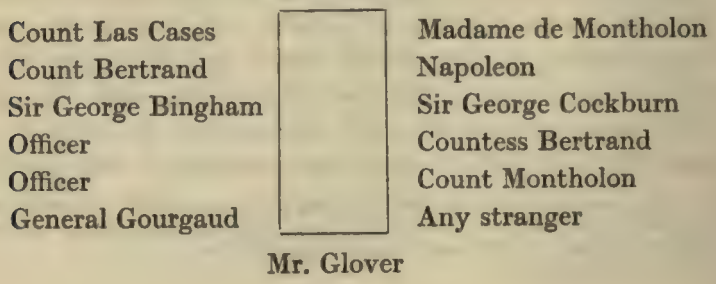
[2] B.M., 20114, p. 242.

St. Helena. He resigned his command and went home, in May, 1819. Bingham was a man of sterling worth, an honour to his profession.

The after-cabin of the *Northumberland* was used as a sitting-room common to all, both English and French. Napoleon's cabin, which was 9 feet broad and 12 feet long, opened into the after-cabin. The Admiral had a precisely similar cabin on the other side. The fore-cabin, about ten feet deep, and occupying the whole breadth of the ship, was the dining-room. Captain Ross gave up his cabin to the Bertrands, and Cockburn's secretary, Glover, gave his to the Montholons. Gourgaud and the two Las Cases slept on sofa-beds in the after-cabin, until cabins had been built for them. The vessel was unpleasantly crowded.

Napoleon's habits on board ship varied little. He retired to bed early. After his morning cup of coffee he was visited by the various persons of his suite, and at 10.30 was served in his cabin with the second breakfast, as it was called. He appeared on deck after two, dressed in his Chasseurs uniform, with silk stockings and gold-buckled shoes in place of the long boots. His suite attended him in full uniform, their hats in their hands. At four he went into the after-cabin for a game of chess, or he would play piquet with Madame de Montholon.

Dinner, the great event of the day, was at six. At table Napoleon faced the direction of the ship.



O'Meara, Warden (surgeon of the *Northumberland*), Captain Greatley, who commanded a detachment of artillery, the Rev. G. Rennell, the Chaplain, and other officers, were invited in turn.

Glover says: "General Bonaparte ate of every dish at table, using his fingers instead of a fork, seeming to prefer the rich dishes to the plain dressed food, and not even tasting vegetables." And again: "At dinner he ate heartily of every dish, his fork remaining useless, whilst his fingers were busily employed." Bingham says: "He ate heartily, taking up both fish and meat frequently with his fingers; he drank claret out of a tumbler mixed with very little water." When the coffee came "he swallowed his hastily, and got up from table before many of us were even served, and went on deck," followed by Bertrand and Las Cases, for a walk. The remainder of the company stood up in their places while Napoleon was leaving the cabin, and then Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon having also gone, they followed the English habit of sitting over their wine.

Madame de Montholon says: "The dinner was as well served as it can be on board ship. The provisions were good and abundant. They had procured in haste all that they could in preserved things and in animals; except the water, which smelled, and the biscuit, which was old, there was nothing to complain of." The Admiral had taken on board several hundred bottles of water, hermetically sealed, for the express use of Napoleon and his suite, so that there was always a supply of pure water to drink. There was excellent beer, which Madame de Montholon would have liked, if the doctor had allowed her to have it. She enjoyed the malvoisin, and complained that Cockburn only gave it out when his charges were behaving like good children.

After dinner Napoleon would walk the deck until it was dark, and then he would join in a game of vingt-et-un in the cabin. The play was fairly high, an exchange of a dozen napoleons was usual, and on his birthday Napoleon won as

many as eighty. Glover on one occasion lost one hundred. Whist, or piquet, sometimes took the place of the vingt-et-un.

On the 9th August, the *Northumberland* had in company the *Havannah*, 36 guns; *Peruvian*, 18; *Zenobia*, 18; *Zephyr*, 14; *Redpole*, 10; *Icarus*, 10; *Ferret*, 10; *Ceylon*, troopship; and *Bucephalus*, troopship.[1] The *Havannah*, *Ceylon*, and *Bucephalus* carried the 53rd Regiment. The *Peruvian* was sent to Guernsey to obtain French wines and rejoin at Madeira, while the remainder of the flotilla proceeded down Channel.

Few of the guests appeared at table on the 8th or 9th, and Napoleon himself not until the latter day. On the 11th they were entering the Bay of Biscay, and there was an unpleasant swell. Napoleon kept to his cabin, as did all his suite, with the exception of Gourgaud, but they were recovered by the 13th, when they were in the middle of the Bay, and "the weather very fine, with calms." Poor Madame Bertrand was openly declaring her regret at having been persuaded to make the voyage, and insisted that she would return within twelve months.

This day being a Sunday the Englishmen declined to join in the evening's vingt-et-un. Napoleon remarked that "the upper circles in London play cards on Sunday," but although this was admitted to be the case, neither Cockburn nor Bingham would join in. On the next Sunday Napoleon, seeing that the Admiral did not play cards, with good taste refrained himself.

The 15th being Napoleon's birthday, all the followers went into his cabin in the morning to offer their congratulations, and at dinner, after he had left the table, his health was drunk.

Napoleon was treated as an Emperor by the French, as a distinguished General by the English. Where, as sometimes at a round game of cards, the nationalities were mixed together, the effect of board-ship life broke down barriers, and

[1] B.M., 20114, p. 250.

GOURGAUD BERTRAND NAPOLEON LAS CASES MONTHOLON

From the sketch made by Denzil Ibbetson on the *Northumberland*. Now in the collection of A. M. Broadley

the game would become noisy and boisterous. Napoleon showed no displeasure at first, but when the marked *sans gêne* was repeated on a second occasion, he got up and retired to his cabin; on the following evening he played chess, and there was no round game of cards.

On the 23rd they lay off Funchal, Madeira, taking in water, cattle, wine, and fruit—"such," says Las Cases, "as unripe oranges, bad peaches, and tasteless pears; the figs and grapes were however excellent." Madame de Montholon enjoyed the oranges and lemons, "which gave us the greatest pleasure," she says, "and contributed very much to my recovery from sea-sickness." The weather was rough. Cockburn and his secretary alone went on shore.

On the 27th August they passed close to Teneriffe; on the 1st September they were off the Cape Verde Islands, but were unable to obtain provisions, owing to the strong winds. From this time forward, with continuous south-westerly winds, their course was to the south-east, for over a month, until they had come close to the mouth of the Congo, before the long expected south-east trade was at last obtained. The usual course for sailing ships was, and is, towards Brazil, but Cockburn preferred to try a direct route, and was taken much further to the east than he had expected.

To combat the monotony of the voyage, Napoleon amused himself with Gourgaud, extracting square roots and cube roots. He talked Italian with O'Meara, whom he summoned into his cabin every morning. He tried a few lessons of English from Las Cases, but soon abandoned that uncongenial labour, and took to dictating "memoirs" of his life. He began to Las Cases, on the 9th September, with a dictation on the siege of Toulon which is a mere piece of unfounded self-glorification, of no value for the historian. When that was finished, he dictated on the campaign of Italy. Napoleon observed to Las Cases: "You will survive as long as any previous memoir-writer. It will be impossible to dwell upon the great events of our time, or to write about me,

an " explanation " with Las Cases, who to incense Napoleon still further, had repeated to him what Gourgaud had said about the death of the duc d'Enghien. " Las Cases asks me," writes Gourgaud, " why I have come, and assures me that His Majesty would give me £12,000 upon which to live, if I would consent to leave him. I snub Las Cases with vigour. 'I shall never approve of the death of the duc' [the murder of the duc d'Enghien] 'nor that of Pichegru. I have come because I was near the person of His Majesty, whom I have followed for four years, except at Elba. I have saved his life, and one loves those whom one has benefited. If I had thought he had returned to France to bring misfortune, I should not have reassumed my former place near his person. But you, sir, you did not know the Emperor, you were not known to him, even by sight. Well, then, why this great devotion?' I see around me," added the disillusioned officer, " much intrigue and falsehood. Pauvre Gourgaud, qu'allais-tu faire dans cette galère." This plain-spoken, and at the same time excessively jealous, and vain, man, was a most unsuitable companion for the Emperor Napoleon. Madame Bertrand with her tears, and Gourgaud with his airs, were severe trials.

One day Gourgaud and Montholon had a violent altercation at table, which the Admiral terminated by rising to go on deck; " but it is not difficult to perceive," writes Bingham, " that envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness are firmly rooted in Bonaparte's family; and that their residence at St. Helena will be rendered very uncomfortable by it." Again: " His attendants are divided into parties, and do nothing but abuse each other behind their backs."

At last there was to be escape from the close quarters and the monotony of life at sea. On the 15th October, 1815, sixty-four days after the transference from the *Bellerophon*, ninety-one days after the flight from the island of Aix, the ship which carried the exiles cast anchor in Jamestown roads, St. Helena.

CHAPTER V

"SAINTE-HÉLÈNE, PETITE ISLE . . ."

(1) *Geography, climate, and productions*

IN the year 1789, Napoléone de Buonaparte, aged twenty, a lieutenant in the artillery regiment of La Fère stationed at Auxonne, in France, passed some of his time in taking notes on the books he was reading. He was thus engaged over the "Géographie Moderne" of Lacroix, writing down the names of places, when he came to a little-known island in the South Atlantic. He copied the name, and noted that it was a small island, and then—strange coincidence—threw down the book. He wrote the words "Sainte-Hélène, petite isle . . ." and there he came to an end.

The island lies between 15° 54′ S. and 16° S. latitude, and 5° 39′ W. and 5° 48′ W. longitude. It is the furthest from a continent of any island of its size in the Atlantic Ocean. It is 1140 miles from the nearest land in South Africa, 1800 miles from South America, 700 from the island of Ascension, 1750 from Capetown, and 4400 from England.

It is about the same size as Jersey, being 10 miles long by 7 broad, with an area of 47 square miles. Jersey has 45 square miles, and Elba 85 square miles.

Viewed from the sea, St. Helena is a huge barren rock, rising sheer up from the water: the exterior cliffs are from 600 to 1200 feet in height, and there appears to be no possible means of entrance. There are, however, a number of landing-places, the most feasible being at Jamestown,

Rupert's Valley, and Lemon Valley in the north, Prosperous Bay in the east, and Sandy Bay in the south; but landing is never easy, and the beach is in every case of small dimensions. Ascension is an even more barren island, without a trace of vegetation in any part, absolutely sterile, whereas at St. Helena, when once the exterior is passed, there is a smiling country of green fields and wooded hills. "Little would anyone imagine that so rude and forbidding a shell contained so choice and valuable a kernel."[1]

Mellis says:[2] "Its isolated position, its peculiar fauna, and its very remarkable insular flora, together with its geological character, present strong reasons for placing St. Helena amongst the oldest land now existing on the face of the globe." The island is of volcanic origin. The great crater is on the south-west with its centre at Sandy Bay beach, and a diameter of about five miles at the line of the coast, the southern half being under the sea. The northern semicircle of the crater begins on the coast, west, with the rocks known as the Asses' Ears; then comes a remarkable upstanding stone called Lot's Wife, 1550 feet above the sea; north-west from the centre at Sandy Bay beach is High Peak, 2635 feet; north-east Diana's Peak, 2700 feet; and Long Range on the coast to the east, about 2000 feet.

Melliss says of Sandy Bay: "The scenery, though on a small scale, is truly grand. Labourers' cottages, with neat little gardens, scattered here and there amidst bright green grassy slopes and hayfields, have more than ordinary claims to picturesqueness; while almost every turn in the road reveals a pretty rural English-like dwelling, snugly placed in some romantic glen, amidst thick groves of trees, whose bright verdant foliage charmingly contrasts with the grey lichen-clad rocks and the rich purple, red, and yellow tints of the more distant sides of the crater, occasioned by

[1] "A Tour through the Island of St. Helena," by Captain John Barnes, 1817.

[2] "St. Helena," by J. C. Mellis, 1875.

JAMESTOWN, WITH SUGAR LOAF HILL AND THE BATTERIES

From an aquatint after Frederick Marryat

the presence in the soil of manganese and iron in composition."

Sterndale, Governor of St. Helena in 1902, wrote :[1] "The view from the central ridge, or from the high road above Mount Pleasant, is one not easily to be surpassed. . . . To the left rise the peaks of Actæon and Diana clothed in a forest of the old-world flora—tree-ferns, dogwood, gumwood, and cabbage trees. Away to the right is a grand range of rocks."

Thomas Brooke wrote, in 1808 :[2] "It would be difficult, perhaps, in any country to meet with a more uncommon and romantic prospect than Sandy Bay, when seen from many parts of the main ridge. The hills on the left, richly clothed with trees to the very summits, display a wonderful contrast to the wild and grotesque nakedness that triumphs on the right, where shelving cliffs, surmounted by huge perpendicular or spiral masses of rock, are multiplied under every shape and aspect. Among this scenery are interspersed the dwellings of planters, the different forms of gardens and plantations, and the pasturing of cattle ; the prospect closing with the distant sea, rushing in between two black craggy cliffs, which the surf whitens with its spray. The infinite diversity of tint that overspreads the whole of this extraordinary picture, the majesty of one part, the reposing beauty of another, and the horror of a third, cannot fail to delight and astonish every observer of nature."

Sandy Bay, from various points of the Ridge, is a truly astonishing and fascinating spectacle. Experienced travellers will not easily recall anything to equal it. There is something of the exaggeration of stage scenery. Red rolls of sand, with deep fissures between, slate-coloured rough crags rising here and there to give jagged sky-line edges, while almost touching are the slopes of brilliant warm green, and

[1] "The British Empire Series," vol. v, 1902.
[2] "History of the Island of St. Helena," by T. H. Brooke, 1808. Second edition, 1820.

the neat white houses. In one view are included extraordinary and wonderful rock and red sand, with wooded hills, and the green of fields and glades. The scenery of St. Helena is throughout arresting or gracious, awful or pretty, and the two opposite kinds are constantly meeting in one picture.

Jamestown lies in a narrow valley between two great masses of rock, Ladder Hill on the right, and Rupert's Hill on the left. The hills are steep and barren, and it is difficult to believe the statement in the St. Helena records that they were at one time covered with trees down to the water's edge.

The town itself, as seen from the sea, has a pleasing aspect, the white houses being embowered in trees of a vivid green, among them the banian, peepal, pepper, banana, and date palm. The strong colouring of tropical vegetation is enhanced by contrast with the ashen dullness of the rocks on either side.

Landing at the wharf in a small row-boat may be an exciting and even dangerous enterprise, when there are rollers. As the boat rises on a wave a prompt leap has to be made on to the slippery steps, amid a shower of spray. To embark is even more unpleasant, as the adventurer has to stand and be splashed, while he waits for his opportunity to jump into the heaving boat.

"The Africa Pilot" says:[1] "The most singular phenomenon connected with this part of the ocean is the setting in of very heavy continuous swells or rollers from the north-north-west, which are most prevalent during the months of January and February, when the waves break on the leeward shore with astonishing grandeur. During their continuance landing is extremely dangerous, and can only be effected by watching the intervals between the groups of rollers." The third wave is the strongest, and the landing should always be made just after it has passed. In February, 1846, thirteen

[1] "The Africa Pilot," published by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1910.

small vessels moored near the shore were totally wrecked, and the wharves were much damaged.

There are similar rollers at Ascension. They are supposed to be due to N.-W. gales of wind in the North Atlantic, which bring a surface undulation of the water straight to the anchorages at Ascension and Jamestown.

About a quarter of a mile from the landing-place are the ramparts, behind a ditch and drawbridge. The Castle, the Governor's town house, is in the centre of these fortifications. The house was nearly destroyed by white ants about the middle of the last century, and has been rebuilt of stone, with iron stairs and teak woodwork. There is a square outside the Castle, with a small public garden on the left, and the church of St. James on the right. In front is the broad street of the town, with stores and offices.

The nearest building on the left is the house in which Napoleon spent his first night on shore. It was nearly destroyed by fire a few years ago, and has not been rebuilt. Further on in the street is the fountain, erected to the memory of nine persons who were killed, in 1890, by an avalanche of rocks.

On the right is the ladder of seven hundred stone steps, which was made in 1829 by Governor Dallas, to Ladder Hill Fort. That point is more comfortably reached by a road which zigzags up the hill. The guns of Ladder Hill Fort command the anchorage. When the garrison was withdrawn in 1906 this fort was abandoned, but a small detachment of marines has since been sent out to man the guns. From the fort the road mounts up to High Knoll, which was at one time strongly fortified, but is now deserted. Some of the more obstreperous Boer prisoners were imprisoned here in 1900–2. About a mile beyond High Knoll are the gates of Plantation House, three and a quarter miles from Jamestown.

Plantation House is so called because it stands in one of the early plantations of the East India Company, the

produce of the land being destined for the Governor's table, where a number of officials had the right to dine. The present house dates from the time of Governor Brooke, who laid the foundations in 1791, but it was Colonel Wilks, 1812–15, who made it a dwelling suitable for the Governor. It is built in the style of a substantial English country house, with a large entrance hall, the drawing-room to the left, dining-room to the right, and library beyond, all of them lofty rooms of good size.

The grounds have been carefully planted, and contain a great variety of beautiful trees, with rare specimens amongst them. The house is 1790 feet above the sea. Just above it is St. Paul's, generally known as the Country Church.

At Plantation House the road branches in three directions. On the right it leads through some of the prettiest and most thickly wooded parts of the island to Rosemary Hall, which was at one time regarded as a possible alternative to Longwood for the residence of Napoleon. There are some fine oaks, while the hedges are overrun with buddlea, which has developed into a troublesome weed, with clumps of the handsome ginger plant, and the large white trumpet flowers of the datura. Further on is Broadbottom, where some of the Boer prisoners were encamped in 1900–2, and High Peak, where, for its salubrious air, the Naval Hospital was established a hundred years ago.

The left branch from Plantation leads up and down green valleys to the crest above Hutt's Gate, and so on to Longwood, distant about four miles from Plantation. The central road reaches Longwood by way of the Ridge, and is the most picturesque of the three, though they are all attractive and charming. Mellis says of this road, describing it from the Longwood direction: "The ride or drive along the mountain-tops, from Longwood across Sandy Bay ridge, and by Plantation House to Ladder Hill and Jamestown, is, for beauty of scenery, scarcely to be surpassed. The shady lanes, lined on each side with bright yellow blossoms of

gorse, brilliant scarlet geraniums, and the deeper tints of the fuchsia, mixing with the blue-green foliage and orange-coloured blossoms of the buddlea, and the pale green leaves of the young oak trees, are very charming, and not less so when these suddenly give place to a rich meadow or sunny hayfield."

The direct road to Longwood from Jamestown is by the "Side Path," on the west, which climbs up the side of Rupert's Hill. It is a good carriage road, but ascends for the greater part of the way, and visitors may be called upon to walk up the steeper portions, to relieve the horses. When a warship arrives the white-clad sailors trudge up the hill in hundreds, on their way to Longwood.

For a short distance the road passes along bare slopes with overhanging rocks. Soon there is a growth of aloe, cactus, hottentot fig, prickly pear, and scarlet geranium. About a mile and a half from Jamestown the road looks down on The Briars, where Napoleon lived for two months. White-roofed houses have now been built here to accommodate the officials of the Eastern Telegraph Company. Since the Boer war this has become an important cable station.

On the right of The Briars there is a heart-shaped waterfall, and above it is Francis Plain, where troops were encamped in the time of Napoleon, now used for cricket. Above The Briars the point is reached which was formerly known as Two-Gun Saddle, now Button-up-Corner, for here a cooler air is felt. The hills are now covered with the bright green of the Jackson willow (*Acacia longifolia*), soon giving way to cedar, cypress, pine and fir, with hedges and plantations of the New Zealand flax. The *Phormium tenax* has been extensively planted of late years, and there are two stripping mills at work on the island.

Near Alarm House, 1960 feet, three miles from Jamestown, the old Alarm Gun is still in its position. In the St. Helena Records there is an entry of 12th September, 1692: "The alarm of two guns from Prosperous Bay is to

be repeated by the alarm guns on the main ridge, of two guns." The guns were fired whenever a ship was signalled. When Napoleon was a prisoner the gun was fired every evening at sunset. From this position the first view of Longwood is obtained, on the height beyond the intervening ravine known as the Devil's Punch Bowl. The road leads in a semicircle round the edge of this deep crater, passing above Geranium Valley, since known as Napoleon's Vale, for he was buried in the glade below, to Hutt's Gate. There, in a cottage on the left of the road, the Bertrands lived for ten months, while a house was being built for them on the Longwood property, which is a mile and a quarter further on, four and three-quarter miles from Jamestown.

Longwood is described in chapter VII.

Charles Darwin landed at St. Helena on the 8th July, 1836, when on his way home from his voyage round the world in H.M.S. *Beagle*. He lodged for five days at Hutt's Gate, and this is part of his description of the island: "Near the coast the rough lava is quite bare; in the central and higher parts felspathic rocks by their decomposition have produced a clayey soil, which, when not covered by vegetation, is stained in broad bands of many bright colours. At this season the land, moistened by constant showers, produces a singularly bright green pasture, which, lower and lower down, gradually fades away and at last disappears. In latitude 16°, and at the trifling elevation of 1500 feet, it is surprising to behold a vegetation possessing a character decidedly British. The hills are crowned with irregular plantations of Scotch firs, and the sloping banks are thickly scattered over with thickets of gorse, covered with its bright yellow flowers. The English, or rather Welsh, character of the scenery is kept up by the numerous cottages and small white houses, some buried at the bottom of the deepest valleys, and others mounted on the crests of the lofty hills."

The climate of St. Helena has been praised in terms which would seem exaggerated if they were not unanimous. Those

whose experience dated from before the time of Napoleon were Secretary Brooke, Governor Beatson, and Captain Barnes, who all lived on the island for some years, and Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Brooke says: "The temperature and salubrity of the climate are not exceeded in any part of the world; the variations of heat and cold are moderate, and generally fluctuate near the point most congenial to animal existence; the island is fanned by a constant and equable wind, surrounded by plenty and variety of fish, and refreshed by numerous springs of excellent water. The climate seems to be peculiarly adapted to the constitutions of Europeans, of whom many have resided here for a long series of years without suffering any malady. . . . Thunder, lightning, or storms rarely disturb the serenity of this mild atmosphere."

Beatson says:[1] "The climate of St. Helena is perhaps the mildest and the most salubrious in the world, and is remarkably congenial to the human feelings. Neither too hot nor cold, it preserves throughout the year that medium temperature which is always agreeable."

Barnes: "The climate of Saint Helena is unquestionably one of the most temperate and salubrious in the universe; unvexed by storms of any kind, it is almost continually serene."

The Duke of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) lived at "The Briars," when on his way home from India, from the 20th June to the 3rd July, 1805, in the St. Helena winter. He wrote to a friend: "The interior of the island is beautiful, and the climate apparently the most healthy that I have ever lived in."

Governor Sterndale, writing in 1902, says: "As regards climate, St. Helena has one of the finest of the world; I

[1] "Tracts relative to the Island of St. Helena," by Major-General Alexander Beatson. Published 1st January, 1816, but written during his Governorship, 1808–1813.

think even preferable to Madeira, being drier in parts, and its effect on weak-chested and consumptive patients has been most beneficial. A steady cool trade-wind from the south-east blows all the year round and keeps down the heat of the tropics. Europeans go about with small caps on their heads, yet sunstroke is not known. . . . The longevity of the inhabitants is remarkable, many of whom over eighty years of age continue working, and think nothing of walking miles up the steep roads." He expected St. Helena, when it was better known, would become "a place of resort for invalids and artists in search of health and the beautiful in scenery."

For a more scientific and detailed description we will refer to the elaborate and admirable work of Melliss: "In excellence of climate, St. Helena is perhaps without an equal: no heat of torrid zones, or cold blasts from frigid regions, approach its genial shores. There no thunderstorms terrify the timid, no cholera, no yellow fever, no smallpox, scarlatina, or deadly lurking fever-germs pollute the air. Nor is its balmy atmosphere ever marred by scorching winds, hot vapours, typhoons, hurricanes, cyclones, or any other characteristic of tropical regions. Throughout the year bright sunshine, clear skies, gentle breezes, and deep blue seas all combine to make it one of the most charming spots that can be found. The island might reasonably and is generally supposed to be tropical in climate, lying as it does about one-third of the way within the tropic of Capricorn, and only 955 miles from the Equator; but fortunately its isolated position, far removed from the influence of any large tract of land, immediately in the heart of the ever-prevailing fresh, healthy, south-east trade-winds, completely frees it from any of the disagreeables which such a latitude might be expected to possess."

"The length of day is very uniform throughout the year, the longest occurring on December 21st, being thirteen hours two minutes' duration, and the shortest, the 21st June, being

eleven hours eight minutes. Spring, which begins on the 23rd September, is characterized by a minimum temperature of 55·5° and a maximum of 68°, with bright, sunny, cheerful weather, occasionally varied by fresh and gentle showers; while the oaks, bursting out with full leaf, with gorse, mimosas, buddlea, and other plants, in full blossom, mingling their delicious perfumes with the fragrance of the newly mown hay, give to the season much of the charming character of an English spring. Summer, from the 22nd December, is marked by hotter weather, the thermometer reaching as high as 72·8° on the high land, and 82·6° in Jamestown. The vegetation of the lower land becomes scorched up, and heavy tropical rains occur about the month of March. The chief sign of autumn, from the 21st March, is the fall of the leaf, which occurs with the oak and some other exotic plants with as much regularity as it does in England, the temperature becoming less, with small drizzling rains, usually called Scotch mists, during the month of June. In the winter, which begins on the 21st June, the temperature falls to 58·2°, the weather becomes squally, wind and rain both increasing, until on the high land fires become not only bearable but necessary, both for personal comfort and for the preservation of property from ruin by damp and mould. The climate of James Valley during the summer months is not agreeable; it is then and there that the only approach to real hot weather is experienced. The atmosphere of the town is so completely influenced by local circumstances that it is altogether different from the rest of the island."

"As might be expected, the atmosphere contains much moisture. Small islands, entirely surrounded by sea, must always be more or less damp. . . . Clouds often hang over the whole island, high above the land, for several days together, giving rise to the local expression, 'a covered day.' They seem to spread over the land like a huge umbrella, as a protection to young verdure from the fierce rays of the sun. Rainy seasons happen twice in the year—in summer and

winter; the summer rains are heavy, the winter light and misty, but continuous."

Dr. W. J. Arnold, the able and energetic Colonial Surgeon, who has been fourteen years in St. Helena, was good enough to give me his opinion of the climate, on the occasion of my visit in 1914. He described it as of the marine type, humid and warm. Some people find the constant moderate warmth, day and night, with little variety in the seasons, somewhat relaxing; and there is a liability to dysentery, not of a dangerous nature, but leaving a weakness in the hepatic functions. Dr. Arnold regards the climate as exceptionally healthy, even when compared with places in the temperate regions.

The mortality statistics prove it. The only early record we have is for the year 1823, when the rate was found to be ten per thousand, at that time probably unequalled. Recent death-rates have been: 1906, 11·9 per thousand; 1907, 9·4; 1908, 9·6; 1909, 6·4; 1910, 10·7. The average for five years is thus 9·6. This is much lower than the lowest ever obtained in England and Wales, 14·5 in 1909—the year in which St. Helena had a rate of 6·4. As half the population lives in Jamestown, the least healthy part of the island, there can be no doubt that the country districts of St. Helena rival in healthiness the most favoured spots on the earth.

The vegetation is of the greatest interest to the botanist as it includes many plants unknown elsewhere. Of imported plants an unusual variety may be grown, from bananas to apples.

Brooke says: "The mimosa of New South Wales, the pine of the North, and the bamboo of India seem to outvie each other in the luxuriance of their growth. . . . Fruits, particularly vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, ripen best in the valleys near the sea, which are also well adapted to the growth of plantains and bananas. From a garden more interior, but finely watered and sheltered, of no greater extent than three acres of ground, twenty-four thousand

dozen apples of a large size were gathered in one season, besides peaches, guavas, grapes, and figs in abundance. . . . Cabbages, peas, beans, and other culinary vegetables are raised in abundance. Myrtle in some situations attains to the height of twenty feet."

Beatson says: "Miss Mason's orchard is, for its extent, the finest and most productive I ever beheld: the apples are of high flavour; some of them have measured sixteen inches in circumference."

Beatson himself obtained remarkable results with crops of various kinds, and his gardener told him he had raised as many as six crops in a year from a piece of land at Lemon Valley, a warm and sheltered spot. Two crops of corn and roots are now obtained in most parts, and where there is a sufficient rainfall, three crops.

When discovered, there were no animals on the island. Of imported creatures Brooke says: "The breed of cattle and sheep on the island is originally English; the beef is of an excellent quality. Rabbits abound in some situations; pheasants and partridges are become numerous, since the Government has given them protection. . . . There are neither frogs, toads, nor snakes in the island. In the valleys near the sea scorpions and centipedes are found, but their sting, though painful, is not dangerous." There are frogs at the present day.[1]

Barnes says: "The beef is generally of very excellent quality. . . . The island sheep are small, but make very good mutton." Mellis was of the same opinion: "Island mutton is exceedingly good, preferable to that imported from the Cape, and much resembles Welsh mutton both in appearance and flavour."

In Jamestown meat will not keep and is usually tough in consequence, but in the country butcher's meat, game (pheasant and partridge) and poultry, if properly treated,

[1] The author saw tadpoles in the famous spring of water near Napoleon's grave, in February, 1914.

are tender and good. Eggs are plentiful and cheap, and there is an ample supply of good potatoes and vegetables. In some gardens insects do deadly havoc, clearing away whole rows of young plants.

There are rats in swarms everywhere, and only half-hearted efforts have been made to exterminate them. They can be kept out of the houses with a little care, but commit serious depredations to the crops. Mosquitoes are a pest in Jamestown, but in the country they are troublesome only in the autumn. Jamestown was at one time almost destroyed by white ants, and many of the houses had to be rebuilt.

There are many beautiful butterflies and rare beetles. There have been severe visitations of caterpillars. Peaches and other fruits have of late years been infested by a maggot, and as there is little demand now, cultivation has become unprofitable; the trees are not pruned or grafted, and much of the local fruit is now of poor quality. The apples and pears, which grow freely without attention of any sort, are large, but hard and tasteless. Figs do very well, both the large purple and the sweeter green; and the bananas are of the very finest flavour, as good as those of Fiji. Some excellent mangoes ripen near the coast. With so little change in the seasons, trees have a tendency to grow fruit and blossom at the same time. Bunches of apple blossom, and bushels of apples, may at one time be collected from the same tree. The peaches behave in the same manner.

St. Helena used to be famed for the variety and abundance of the fish obtained in its waters, but the catch is now small, partly it would appear from a change in the movements of the fish, but more, perhaps, owing to the reduced demand. Fish is no longer the staple article of diet, rice and salt meat having taken its place. Fish is not always easy to obtain now, but the quality is excellent. The deep-water Jack, for instance, is peculiar to St. Helena, and delicious, the albicore or tunny, is fairly common, and there are many other good varieties.

The wire-bird, which is found in some numbers near Longwood, is peculiar to St. Helena. The Java sparrow, a handsome little creature, is common, as also are the avadavat, the mynah, the canary, and the cardinal, a bird of wonderful brilliance—an intensified robin, which is always a delight to behold.

(2) *History*

St. Helena was discovered by the Portuguese, Juan de Nova Castella, as he was returning with a fleet from India in 1502, on the 21st May, the feast day of St. Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine. It was uninhabited. "This island," says Osorio in his account of de Nova's voyage, "standing by itself in the midst of such a vast ocean, seems, as it were, to have been placed there by Providence, for the reception and shelter of weather-beaten ships in their return from an Indian voyage." St. Helena was conveniently in the track of homeward-bound ships from the East, and the anchorage being better than at Capetown, it became usual for these merchantmen to make Jamestown their first port of call after a voyage of from two to three months.

Juan de Nova landed goats and pigs, to run wild. The first inhabitant was a Portuguese, Fernando Lopez, who had joined a native insurrection at Goa, and by the order of Albuquerque, had been deprived of his nose, both ears, the right hand and left thumb. On the homeward voyage, in 1513, he was, at his own request, landed at St. Helena, with four negro slaves. He obtained from visiting ships at various times poultry, pheasants, guinea-fowl, partridges, and peacocks, besides herbs, and fruit trees. Lopez remained for some years on the island. When he returned to Portugal he drew attention to the advantage of calling at the island, on the passage from the East. That knowledge was kept as secret as possible by the Portuguese. It was not until 1588 that the island was "discovered" for England and the world at large by Sir Thomas Cavendish, on his famous voyage. Cavendish found a number of buildings with a good-sized

chapel, where now is Jamestown, also plantations of fruit trees, quantities of goats and wild swine, and a large stock of partridges, pheasants, and turkeys; "and in every void place is planted parsley, sorrel, basil, fennel, aniseed, mustard-seed, radishes, and many good herbs." Fresh water was to be obtained, with fresh meat and these herbs, as antidotes to the terrible disease of scurvy which attacked all ships' companies in those days.

The Portuguese manner of using the island was thus described:

"When the Portuguese touch at the island, they have all things in plenty for their relief, by reason that they suffer none to inhabit there that might eat up all the produce of the island, except some very few sick persons of their company, whom they suspect will not live until they come home; these they leave there to refresh themselves, and take them away the year following, with the other fleet, if they live so long."

In 1591, 1593, and 1603 St. Helena was visited by the first English merchant ships from the East, and it was also used at this time by Dutch and Spanish ships, as well as by the Portuguese. The Dutch formed a settlement in 1640, but when they removed to the Cape, in 1651, the East India Company took possession. They sent out Captain Dutton to be the first English Governor, and he at once built a fort at Jamestown, as an inscription on a stone in the wall of the Castle indicates:

"CAPT. IOHN DUTTON
GOVERNOR OF THIS ISLE
FIRST ERECTED THIS FORTIFICA
TION FOR THE ENGLISH EAST
INDIA COMP. IUNE ye 4 ANN. DOM. 1658
OPERA TESTANTUR DE ME."

This fort was called James Fort in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James II; hence the name of the town.

JAMESTOWN FROM THE CASTLE TERRACE

From a contemporary aquatint after George H. Bellasis

In 1661 Charles II gave the East India Company possession of the island by a charter. In 1672 it was captured by the Dutch, but it was retaken in the next year by Captain Munden, who landed two hundred men in Prosperous Bay, and while they were climbing the steep cliffs at a point from that time forward known as Hold Fast Tom, Munden attacked the Dutch fort at Jamestown. The land party then succeeded in capturing the fort. A fresh charter was granted to the Company on the 16th December, 1673.

The Company's first aim was to obtain settlers, and by providing free land, and seeds, breeding stock, and slaves, a small colony was established. Every ship that arrived from Madagascar, the chief recruiting ground, was obliged to leave one negro slave. Labour, though in insufficient quantity, was thus gradually supplied, but some of the whites were too lazy to assist in any way, and they had to be deported. The military force consisted of fifty settler-soldiers. The Governor farmed the Company's lands, and from the produce or profit, he was obliged to maintain a public table at which all the officials, down to the sergeant and blacksmith, had the right to dine. A Board Resolution of the 8th October, 1717, makes the following regulation: "There shall stand a salt upon the table, which shall be placed below the Council and Chaplain. Those who sit above that salt shall always drink, as they think proper, either wine or punch; but those who sit below that salt, shall have, to two persons, one common bowl of punch (which contains about three pints); if but three, the same; if four, two; if five, no more; and if six persons, three bowls of punch; or, in case of wine instead thereof, one bottle for each bowl of punch."

Even with such precise regulation, and the salt between, there were objections to the presence of some of the company. In a letter of 3rd November, 1718, it is said that "This Governor is of opinion, that nobody ought to sit at table with him that is not cleanly drest, and that has an infectious distemper on him, or that is drunk."

There was a Deputy Governor at a salary of fifty pounds (and his diet at the Governor's table); he was also Lieutenant of the Garrison, Second in Council, Storekeeper General, and Customer.

At first the Company supplied provisions to the settlers at invoice price, but as the colony prospered an addition of 19 per cent was made.

In 1676 Halley, the astronomer, came to the island in order to complete the catalogue of fixed stars, from south of the equator. The hill upon which he fixed his observatory is still known as Halley's Mount. In 1761, Dr. Maskelyne and Mr. Waddington arrived to observe a transit of Venus, but their position on Halley's Mount proved unfortunate, as the sky was entirely obscured by clouds on the important day, while it was visible from the lower parts of the island.

Idleness and drink, and the mixed society of slaves, free blacks, half-breeds, and whites, produced an insubordinate society, and mutinies were common. It was not until 1708 that Governor Roberts arrived, and succeeded by stern measures in repressing the disorders. He built Government House, known as the Castle, in Jamestown, and also the Fort, and erected a battery at Munden's Point.

Yams were imported in quantity from Madagascar for planting, and became the staple food: hence the word "Yam-stock," by which the native-born are known. The yams gradually were superseded by potatoes. Jamestown at this time contained a number of houses which were occupied only when a ship was in the harbour. Then their owners, farming their land in the interior, would come into town to barter their yams, potatoes, bananas, pigs, bullocks, poultry, turkeys, for the calico, muslin, sugar, and other products of the East.

Governor Roberts issued certain "Laws and Ordinances," and the inhabitants appointed twelve of their number to make written "propositions to the Governor and Council" with regard to them. One of their propositions was as

follows: "In their friendly meetings and merry-makings, it may not be deemed as riots; and that upon any time, by order of the Governor, they will separate, if ever it should enter his thoughts such meeting is for any evil intention; which they say God forbid it should."

To this protest, which shows that the Governor had taken strict measures to repress mutinous and riotous tendencies, the Governor and Council replied: "God forbid that any merry meetings and innocent diversions should be deemed riots; it's not the intent of the law."

Another "proposition" was in these terms: "They desire that themselves may not be obliged to lead their doggs in a string; but are willing their servants shall do it." Hydrophobia was unknown in the island, but presumably wandering dogs were a danger to wandering sheep and poultry. The Governor acceded to this request, but he was obdurate on a more important matter, and would not allow the inhabitants to kill their cattle without express permission in every case. This regulation was still in force when Napoleon arrived.

In 1787 Colonel Robert Brooke, who had been in the Company's service in Bengal, arrived as Governor. Colonel Brooke had lost much of the wealth with which he returned from India, in a meritorious and enterprising, but unsuccessful effort to establish cotton factories at the town of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, Ireland.

Governor Brooke lengthened the jetty at Jamestown, and thus made landing much safer than it had been; and he brought water to Longwood and to Ladder Hill Fort.

The war with Holland in 1795 made the Company look to the defence of St. Helena, which lay in the direct track of the Dutch on their way to the Cape. Governor Brooke established a system of signalling, afterwards much improved, which superseded the firing of guns. Vessels approaching the island had to pass by Prosperous Bay, and telegraphs there, and also on the south coast communicated

with Alarm House, High Knoll, and Ladder Hill, and gave warning to the whole island. On clear days ships could be seen at a distance of sixty miles.

The garrison was increased to a battalion of infantry and a strong corps of artillery. Guns in position defended all the possible landing-places. There were forts, or batteries, from Butter Milk Point where ships rounded the island, and thence all along the coast to Jamestown. Ships were obliged to hug the shore to avoid being blown out to sea by the trade wind, and were thus exposed to a heavy fire from Banks Battery, Rupert Fort, Munden Fort, and James Fort. Lemon Valley was defended by Barclay's Battery, and the Sandy Bay beach by a strong battery on the shore and another on the hill behind. The defence was so strong that Governor Beatson wrote afterwards, in 1812: "In short, it seems wholly impossible to force a descent at any of those points. . . . St. Helena is absolutely impregnable by an open and irregular attack." He thought it stronger than either Malta or Gibraltar.

Governor Brooke's title to fame rests upon his energy and success in the Dutch War. He assisted the Navy in capturing a fleet of eight Dutch East Indiamen, which had touched at St. Helena. He sent a force to the Cape, consisting of a company of artillery with nine field guns and three companies of infantry, 400 men in all, together with £10,000 in cash and a supply of ammunition and salt provisions. For this important succour he was thanked by a letter from the Court of Directors; and by direction of the Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, he was presented, at St. Helena, by the Hon. Henry Wellesley, with a sword of honour, which had been taken at the palace of Seringapatam. With these merited honours Brooke retired in 1800, having been Governor for thirteen years.

In 1807 the colony was almost destroyed by an epidemic of measles, introduced from the Cape by a homeward-bound fleet, in the clothes sent on shore to be washed. Nearly every

THE MAIN STREET, JAMESTOWN. NAPOLEON SPENT ONE NIGHT IN THE NEAREST HOUSE ON THE LEFT

From a print published by T. E. Fowler

inhabitant took the infection, and a large proportion died. Smallpox, on the other hand, when introduced, caused no general outbreak.

In 1808 Governor Beatson arrived. He laboured hard to increase the productiveness of the island. He imported Chinese to the number of 270, and they proved themselves excellent labourers. At Longwood he ploughed several fields of ten or twenty acres each, and obtained fine crops of oats, barley, and potatoes. He wrote tracts of wise advice to the settlers on the subject of agriculture, poultry-keeping, gardening, etc. He declared that at Malta, though the soil and climate were inferior, the inhabitants by their industry had made the island very productive; whereas at St. Helena, where there were no taxes on the land, no poor-rate, no tithe, the settlers were too lazy to work, relying upon the arrival of ships, when they could sell to the travellers on their way to England, imported European goods at enormous prices.

The exhortations of Governor Beatson induced some of the settlers to grow larger crops of potatoes, but the result was that the price fell. Hitherto when a ship arrived potatoes had been sold at ten shillings a bushel and occasionally even more, and they never fell below eight shillings, even when no ship was expected; but with the increased production eight shillings became the maximum price, much to the disgust of the producers.

The islanders had for some years enjoyed the privilege of buying imported food from the Company's stores at invoice price in the case of salt meat, flour, and rice, without any addition for the great expense of transport. Governor Beatson abolished the regulation, with the result that between 1810 and 1813 salt meat rose from fourpence to thirteen pence per pound, flour from twopence-halfpenny to fivepence, rice from a penny farthing to twopence-farthing.

Another change that he made was even more unpopular. There was much drunkenness on the island. Beatson withdrew all licences for selling spirits, and encouraged the

publicans to form a second brewery, one being already in existence, by allowing them to import malt and hops in the Company's ships, freight free. At the same time rations of Cape wine were issued to the troops at sixpence per pint.

In June, 1813, Colonel Mark Wilks arrived as Governor, with Colonel J. Skelton as Lieutenant-Governor. Colonel Wilks had been in the Company's service at Madras. His chief measures were the importation of another batch of Chinese labourers; the establishment of a Benevolent Institution, which proved a great success; and the breaking up by the plough of another thirty acres at Longwood and the formation of an additional plantation of thirty-six acres, within a new fence.

On the 10th October, 1815, the *Icarus*, sloop of war, arrived with the astounding intelligence that the greatest man in the world was within a few days' sail, for a life residence on the island. The inhabitants were at first alarmed, but in the result they had every reason to be pleased.

The population in September, 1815, was computed as follows:—

Whites	776
Slaves	1353
Free Blacks	447
Chinese	280
Lascars	15
	2871

The soldiers were over 1000, making a total of nearly 4000. These numbers were now, owing to the arrival of Napoleon, nearly doubled, and the presence of a naval squadron and frequent arrival of store ships caused a traffic which benefited both workmen, producers, and shopkeepers. The prices of all goods rose, with increased rents and higher wages. St. Helena was a very dear place in the time of Napoleon.

The island being given up to the Crown during the residence of Napoleon, the East India Company agreed to pay to the

Crown an annual sum based upon the average cost of administering the island during the three preceding years. All further charge was undertaken by the Crown.

Colonel Wilks left the island on the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, in April, 1816. Colonel Skelton also left, the office of Lieutenant-Governor having been abolished.

Sir Hudson Lowe continued the policy of encouraging plantation, and himself planted seventy-five acres of trees on ground unfit for the plough, or for pasture. He carried water in pipes from Diana's Peak to Longwood and Deadwood, a distance of two miles; and he did much to arrest the growth of the bramble, which had overrun large tracts.

Lowe obtained local support for the gradual abolition of slavery. In 1792 the importation of slaves had been stopped, but as the child of a slave was also a slave, the condition continued. On 13th August, 1818, Lowe addressed a meeting of slave-owners and suggested that, as public opinion had been for years past advancing in favour of the abolition of slavery, they should of their own volition put an end to the inheritance of slavery. This was at once agreed to, by unanimous vote; and the condition of slavery was thus gradually abolished.

On the departure of Sir Hudson Lowe in July, 1821, Mr. T. H. Brooke, who had been Secretary to Council, promoted to Member of Council in 1818, and then to First Member, became the Acting Governor. Mr. Brooke was a nephew of Governor Colonel Brooke. His "History of the Island of St. Helena," first published in 1808, is the chief work on the subject.

In 1836 the East India Company gave up St. Helena to the Crown, and the Company's St. Helena Regiment, 700 strong, and St. Helena Artillery, three batteries, were disbanded. The Company thus saved the £90,000 a year which the island had been costing. Crown troops were sent to replace the Company's soldiers, but many of the officials of the Company were dismissed, and the salaries of others cut down.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1871 was a terrible misfortune; ships ceased to call, the whole Eastern trade being diverted, and numbers of the population were driven to emigrate.

Another wave of temporary and fictitious prosperity, similar to that created by the arrival of Napoleon, came with the Boer prisoners and their guards, in 1900. Amongst the first arrivals was General Cronje, who was taken to Kent Cottage, where he was under a strong military guard. The other prisoners, altogether about 6000 in number, were encamped in tents either at Deadwood or at Broadbottom. The Boers remained only two years. Then, in 1906, came the final blow to St. Helena, when the British garrison was withdrawn, the naval station abandoned, and the island left entirely to its own resources.

The inhabitants are a compound of various races: Portuguese, Dutch, Malay, Chinese, and English. The negroes keep apart in their own settlements. The language spoken by all is English. It is difficult to say how they live. The work in the flax mills, and the planting and gathering of the leaves, employs a few men. The export of the flax to England, and of potatoes, bullocks, and sheep to Ascension, constitutes the bulk of the island trade. The women make lace, and they string together beans to form necklaces, which they sell when a ship comes in. The Eastern Telegraph Company's establishment has to be provided for, and the visitors who land from an incoming steamer twice a month have to be taken, in a procession of carriages, to Longwood. In these small ways enough is earned to supply the barest necessities. The population is about 3500, of whom 250 are white, but most even of the latter are in a state of penury.

CHAPTER VI

THE BRIARS

ON the 15th October, 1815, as the *Northumberland* anchored in Jamestown roads, Napoleon came on deck to look at the third island, after Corsica and Elba, with which his name is associated. The prospect this time was not inviting, the sombre rocks, almost bare of vegetation, seemed to hang over the little town, threatening to engulf it. Napoleon, as he gazed at the scene, was watched by observant eyes, but he exhibited no sign of emotion.

Sir George Cockburn went on shore to visit the Governor, Colonel Wilks, who returned with him to the *Northumberland*, in his boat manned by negroes, dressed in white, with red cummerbunds. Wilks was presented to Napoleon, upon whom he made a good impression. He was a grey-headed man, aged fifty-five, who had passed his career with distinction in India. He had written papers for the Asiatic Society, of which he was Vice-President, and was the author of "Historical Sketches of South India."

After the visit of ceremony to Napoleon, Wilks went ashore again with Cockburn, and guided him on horseback into the interior of the island, to inspect various houses, among them Longwood, the home of the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Skelton. Wilks considered this the most suitable residence for Napoleon, but it required to be enlarged and repaired. Cockburn agreed, and returned with the news to the *Northumberland*. It was expected that the house would be ready in a few days; in the meantime Napoleon

was to be lodged in the town, in the house of a Mr. Porteous, the first house on the left, from the beach.

Bertrand went ashore, on the 16th, to examine the dwelling and make the necessary arrangements for the move to be made next day. In order to avoid the crowd which had collected on the quay, from every corner of the island, Napoleon did not disembark till after sundown, of the 17th October, but even so, though many had by that time returned to their homes, it was only with considerable difficulty that a lane was made, by soldiers with fixed bayonets, for his passage over the short distance from the landing-steps to the Porteous house.

Having left the safety of a British man-of-war, Napoleon felt himself once more exposed to the dagger of the assassin. The same fear had assailed him when he landed from H.M.S. *Undaunted* at Portoferraio, Elba. He had two valets sleeping on a mattress outside his room, but still he trembled. There was a strong English lock on the door; late as it was, he would not rest until a large bolt had been placed in addition upon it. For years afterwards this extra barricade was shown to curious visitors.

Next morning Cockburn took Napoleon and Bertrand on horseback to inspect Longwood, distant nearly five miles. Before anything was done it was desired that Napoleon should be given the opportunity of expressing his opinion; on being told that the house would be enlarged and repaired, he declared himself quite satisfied, for it was the best house he had seen, being inferior only to Plantation House, as the dwelling of the Lieutenant-Governor naturally would be. Colonel and Mrs. Skelton were in residence, and lunch was taken with them.

On the way back Napoleon's fears, and his natural disinclination to return to the stuffy atmosphere and the gaping crowds of Jamestown, made him look about for a possible refuge in the country, until Longwood should be ready. About a mile and a half from the town he noticed the prettily

THE BRIARS AND PAVILION IN 1815

From a drawing by Major Stewart

situated house known as "The Briars," and he suggested to Cockburn that he would be more comfortable there. "The Briars" belonged to a merchant, Mr. Balcombe, who was at the time in residence, with his wife, two daughters aged sixteen and fourteen, and two boys, aged seven and five. The small house of two stories barely sufficed for the family. On a slight eminence, some thirty yards off, there was a summer-house or pavilion, consisting of one room. Rather than face Jamestown again, Napoleon desired to be lodged in the summer-house. He would not even return to the town for one night. His iron bed was sent for, and with a valet outside his door and English soldiers on guard, he slept in safety.

The pavilion consisted of one fair-sized room, which still exists, a small ante-room which has been enlarged out of recognition, and two garrets. The principal room is 20 ft. 2 in. long by 14 ft. 4 in. broad; it has two windows on each side, and one on each side of the entrance door. The windows had neither shutters nor curtains, but both were provided without delay. Las Cases slept in one of the garrets, in a bed which nearly filled it, leaving barely space for a mattress for his son, on the floor. Marchand, the valet, occupied the other garret.

The meals were at first sent up cooked, from the Porteous establishment, but they arrived cold; a kitchen was made at the back, and then the attendants *pour la bouche* came up from Jamestown, and their master was properly served. For dining-room a marquee was pitched to connect with the chief room, and another was afterwards erected in the garden.

"The Briars" is situated at the head of the valley that lies between Ladder Hill and Rupert Hill. Side Path, the road to Longwood and the interior of the island, passes above it on the west. On the east is High Knoll, a fort perched on a steep crag, whose sides fall straight down to the Briars valley. At a short distance from the house is the heart-shaped waterfall, which is generally nearly dry, the

thin stream seldom reaching the base in any volume; often it is blown off in the form of spray. This spot was never visited by Napoleon, the path to it being rough and slippery.

The grounds of "The Briars" are very attractive. From the entrance gate a pretty avenue leads to the house. Here are to be seen the banyan, date palm, mango, pepper tree, ginger, and similar tropical plants; and near by are figs, peaches, oranges, and bananas. There are pleasant green lawns on either side, and tall bushes of a large white rose, resembling the sweet briar, from which the property is named. Near the house there is a small circular pond with goldfish, which may be the identical pond that existed near the bower of vines under which Napoleon spent much of his time. At the back of the house is the fruit and vegetable garden proper, which was another resort of Napoleon.

Napoleon rose early as a rule, and after a cup of coffee, went for a stroll in front of the pavilion. *Déjeuner* was taken usually at about eleven. Then came the dictation to Las Cases, the previous day's work, copied out by young Las Cases in the morning, being first read out. At four or five there would be a further walk in the garden till six, when dinner was taken. After dinner Napoleon would sometimes sit talking in his room, and sometimes went to visit the Balcombe family; on fine nights he usually returned to the garden.

Las Cases speaks with appreciation of the charms of the place, amidst oranges, myrtle, vines, in a soft and genial air; he writes of the delicious temperature, of the beautiful moonlight nights which he and the Emperor passed together, seated in the garden alleys; they were tempted sometimes to stay out till far into the night, talking of the past. Las Cases thus expresses his emotions: "He took my arm and began to chat gaily. Night fell, the calm was profound, the solitude complete; what a crowd of emotions and sentiments came upon me at that moment! I found myself alone, *tête-à-tête* in the desert, almost in

familiarity with the man who had governed the world! In fact with Napoleon! What feelings passed through me! How moved I was! But to understand that properly, it would be necessary to go back to the time of his omnipotence; to the period when a mere decree from him sufficed to overturn thrones, and create kings. It would be necessary to realize what were the feelings he impressed upon all who clustered about him; the timidity and embarrassment, the profound respect with which he was approached by ministers and officials; the anxieties, the fears, of Ambassadors, Princes, and even Kings. Now, nothing of all that was yet weakened in me."

Of the Balcombe girls the younger, Betsy, published, in 1844, when she was Mrs. Abell, an account of Napoleon's life at "The Briars." [1] After nearly thirty years her memory was not always accurate, but the general tenor of her evidence is reliable, though she writes as if she and Napoleon were the actors, the rest of the society, spectators.

In those days nurses would keep their charges in order by threatening them with the Corsican Ogre, and Betsy, when she first saw Napoleon approaching the house, felt inclined to run away. Another little girl came to "The Briars" for a visit, and was terrified on learning that the Ogre was in the garden. Betsy ran off and told Napoleon, who thereupon, in the inconsiderate manner of the period, came up to the poor child, brushed up his hair with his hand, shook his head, made alarming faces, and emitted savage howls. She was carried away screaming.

The two Miss Balcombes had some knowledge of French. Napoleon at their first meeting put Betsy through her capitals of Europe. "'What is the capital of France?' 'Paris'—and so on. 'Of Russia?' 'Petersburg now, Moscow formerly.' On my saying this, he turned abruptly

[1] "Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon, during the first three years of his captivity on the island of St. Helena: including the time of his residence at her father's house, 'The Briars,'" by Mrs. Abell, 1844 (other editions, 1845, 1873).

round, and fixing his piercing eyes full in my face, he demanded sternly, 'Qui l'a brûlé?' When I saw the expression of his eye, and heard his changed voice, all my former terror of him returned, and I was unable to utter a syllable. He repeated the question, and I stammered, 'I do not know, sir.' 'Oui, oui,' he replied, laughing violently, 'vous savez très bien, c'est moi qui l'a brûlé.' On seeing him laugh, I gained a little courage, and said, 'I believe, sir, the Russians burned it to get rid of the French,' an answer which proved satisfactory."

Young Las Cases, aged fifteen, was put forward by Napoleon as her lover, and on one occasion he insisted that the boy should kiss her, holding her hands himself while Las Cases carried out his orders. Betsy retaliated later on in the day, when, as they were all descending a rough path in the garden, she pushed her sister against the elder Las Cases, who thus came in violent contact with his master at the head of the party, who in his turn was nearly thrown down. Mrs. Abell declares that a rough-and-tumble ensued between herself and Las Cases, and that she got the best of it, and pushed him across the lawn. Another time, when Napoleon was exhibiting a beautiful sword, she seized it and waved it at him, declaring she would kill him. The weapon being at last taken from her, Napoleon seized hold of her ear, which had recently been bored, and thus caused her great pain, and he then attacked her nose, pulling it with violence.

Napoleon and the two Miss Balcombes were walking in a field. A cow showing signs of objection to their presence, Napoleon made with all possible speed for the nearest gate, leaving the girls to follow. Betsy laughed at him, and told him it was the first time she had seen an Emperor chased by a cow.

Napoleon sometimes joined in a game of whist of an evening, in the drawing-room of "The Briars," a small apartment with a verandah outside. It was his custom to cheat at all games. Mrs. Abell says: "Peeping under his cards as

THE BRIARS AND PAVILION

From a print published by T. E. Fowler

they were dealt to him, he endeavoured whenever he got an important one to draw off my attention, and then slyly held it up for my sister (his partner) to see. I soon discovered this, and calling him to order, told him he was cheating, and if he continued to do so, I would not play. At last he revoked intentionally, and at the end of the game tried to mix the cards together[1] to prevent his being discovered, but I started up, and seizing hold of his hands,I pointed out to him and the others what he had done. He laughed until the tears ran out of his eyes, and declared he had played fair, but that I had cheated, and should pay him the pagoda (the stake); and when I persisted that he had revoked, he said I was *méchante* and a cheat; and catching up my ball dress from the sofa, he ran out of the room with it, and up to the pavilion, leaving me in terror lest he should crush and spoil all my pretty roses. I instantly set off in chase of him, but he was too quick, and darting through the marquee, he reached the inner room and locked himself in. I then commenced a series of the most pathetic remonstrances and entreaties, both in English and French, to persuade him to restore my frock, but in vain; he was inexorable, and I had the mortification of hearing him laugh at what I thought the most touching of my appeals. I was obliged to return without it."

If Mrs. Abell is to be believed Napoleon had the activity of a boy, for the path is steep and rough from the main building to the pavilion, into which he "darted."

The dress was for Betsy's first ball. It was returned to her next day, in good time for the event. She induced Napoleon to say that he would give a ball in his room in the pavilion, and was for ever teasing him to carry out his promise until, as an alternative, he agreed to take part in a game of blind-man's buff. Betsy being the blind man, Napoleon succeeded in pulling again her already sufficiently stretched nose, and ear, without being caught. Napoleon often spoke of the

[1] He did the same thing at Elba.

drunkenness for which England was at that time famed all over Europe, and accused even Betsy of the national failing. The words "drunk" and "dreenk" composed at this time nearly all his English vocabulary. He would say to his little playfellow, "You like dreenk, Mees Betsee; dreenk, dreenk."

The pavilion was watched night and day by a so-called guard of honour, consisting of Captain Mackey of the 53rd, and two sergeants, who had orders to follow Napoleon whenever he emerged; but, after a few days, the soldiers were sent further off, the Captain alone remaining in close proximity. Signalling arrangements were made by which whatever happened at "The Briars" was immediately known in the town.

The house at Jamestown, where the Bertrands, Montholons, and Gourgaud were lodged, was watched in the same manner, and any person emerging was followed by a soldier. If Mme. Bertrand wished to walk down the street, a soldier went with her.

The inhabitants also had to put up with restrictions. Colonel Wilks issued a proclamation on the 17th October: "After this date nobody whatever will be permitted to pass in any part of the island (excepting within the immediate precincts of the town) between the hours of nine at night and daylight in the morning, without having the parole of the night"; but the parole could easily be obtained by any respectable person. In the town the drawbridge was raised at sundown, whereby Jamestown was cut off from the beach. All owners of boats had to make an exact return to Sir George Cockburn, specifying the kind of boat and the use to which it had been applied. Every boat had to be moored at sunset, and fishing was thus prevented at night and early morning, which were the best times for the purpose. As many of the inhabitants lived upon fish this was a very serious matter. No ship of any nation, British or other, was allowed to communicate with the island, except the ships of the British Government and the East India Company.

THE VALLEY OF THE BRIARS

From a water-colour by Basil Jackson

If other vessels came near, they were fired on as they passed Banks Battery. Some of them obtained permission to anchor in the road on the plea of absolute necessity, water having run short. It was suspected in some cases that the water casks had been purposely emptied in order to furnish the necessary excuse. A guard was placed on every ship. Two warships were always at anchor in the roads, and two brigs were kept cruising in the offing, one to windward, the other to leeward. One of the results of the restrictions upon shipping was that stores became scarce just at the time when the population was increased by the arrival of the French prisoners and the soldiers. Prices rose to abnormal heights.

Colonel Wilks issued a second proclamation warning all persons that he "interdicted most pointedly the holding of any communication or correspondence with General Napoleon Bonaparte or any of the French persons who arrived here with him, excepting only such as may be regularly authorized by the Governor or Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn."

The regulations which Cockburn enforced raised immediate protests; as nothing of the sort had been necessary on the *Northumberland*, the good relations established on the voyage could not be maintained. On the 19th October, the day after his arrival at "The Briars," Napoleon had already begun to declare that he expected to be put to death; he complained to Las Cases that the coffee had a bad taste; he threw it away, saying he suspected it was poisoned, and ordered Las Cases to do the same with his.

On the 21st he told his followers that they were all to make loud complaints of their treatment, and ordered Las Cases to draw up a note of protest which Bertrand was to sign and deliver to the Admiral. As first drawn up, both Bertrand and Gourgaud thought the small particulars entered into were derogatory to the dignity of their master, and Bertrand kept the protest to himself. When, a fort-

night later, Napoleon found that it had not been delivered he was indignant, and upbraided Bertrand for secretly disobeying the command given to him. He was a booby. Bertrand replied: "Your Majesty would have done well to listen to my advice." Napoleon shouted back: "At the Tuileries you would not have ventured to say that to me. Whatever I did then was considered right. However, the *Weymouth* will take away any one of you who wishes to leave me." In the end—as was always the case with Napoleon, to his credit—peace was made, and Bertrand wrote on the 5th November a letter of protest, though in much milder terms than that which Napoleon had at first intended.

In the meantime Las Cases had written a note of complaints which he secretly confided to the captain of a British ship, who agreed to take charge of it, although that was contrary to the regulations. In it Napoleon asserted once more that he was not a prisoner of war, that he need not have given himself up to the English, as there were other alternatives open, that it would be better to put him to death, and so on.

Cockburn wrote to Mr. Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty, on the 22nd October: "Since General Bonaparte has landed here, he has appeared less resigned to his fate, and has expressed himself more dissatisfied with the lot decreed him than he did before. I am, therefore, the more anxious to get them into Longwood, where the appearance of the country is so much better; and when I have procured for them the carriage, horses, etc., I am not without hopes that this discontented turn may again wear off, and that their Lordships will, I trust, very readily believe that nothing shall ever be wanting on my part to render the General's detention here as little afflictive and irksome to him as possible, so long as the paramount object of his personal security be not compromised."

On the 24th Napoleon behaved rudely to Cockburn, and informed his followers, with satisfaction, of what he had done. The Admiral had taken Bertrand to Longwood to show him

NAPOLEON'S PAVILION AT THE BRIARS, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

the progress of the work, and ask for suggestions which might increase the comfort of the house. On his return he stopped at "The Briars," and requested an interview with Napoleon to discuss the alterations that were in hand. Napoleon sent back word that he was indisposed, and could not see him, and at the same time made a point of walking about "to indicate," says Gourgaud, "that he was quite well, and did not intend to receive the Englishman." On the 28th Napoleon repeated the affront, declining to receive Sir George, on the pretence of indisposition. It was impossible to remain on good terms with a man who behaved with deliberate and public rudeness to one who had come to him expressly in order to consult him as to his wants.

In answer to Bertrand's letter of protest of the 5th November, which began with the words "L'Empereur," and concluded by suggesting that if the guard on the coast were increased, they might "be allowed to ramble without restraint," Cockburn replied :—

"'Northumberland,' St. Helena Roads,

"*November* 6, 1815.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and note of yesterday's date, by which you oblige me officially to explain to you that I have no cognizance of any Emperor being actually upon this island, or of any person possessing such dignity having (as stated by you) come hither with you in the *Northumberland*. With regard to yourself and the other officers of distinction who have accompanied you here, it has been, and will continue to be, my most anxious study to render your situation as little irksome and disagreeable as possible under the existing circumstances; and I can only further assure you that I very sincerely lament to find my endeavours on this head seem hitherto to have proved unsuccessful. I do myself also the honour of stating to you, in reply to a part of yo

note, that it is impossible, with my instructions, to permit of your passing beyond the established line of sentries, without your being accompanied by an English officer or non-commissioned officer. I seize this opportunity to beg of you to accept the assurances, etc.

"G. COCKBURN."

When forwarding the correspondence to Lord Bathurst, Cockburn observed that "General Bonaparte (if by the term Emperor M. de Bertrand meant to designate that person) inhabits his present temporary residence wholly and solely in compliance with his own urgent and pointed request, after looking at it. Since my arrival in this island I have not ceased in my endeavours to render these people as comfortable as their situations and the existing circumstances would admit of; but I am sorry to say, I find their requests and complaints (particularly from M. de Bertrand) but increase with every favour and attention shown them."

Napoleon, however, thought that Bertrand did not complain nearly enough. On learning of Cockburn's reply, he said: "That man insults me, and I am quite certain that Bertrand did not write to him what I dictated." Already at "The Briars" Napoleon was indulging in violent abuse of Sir George Cockburn, in the presence of British officers. Sir George Bingham's authority, as the Commandant of the troops, might be made to clash with that of the Admiral. Napoleon accordingly denounced Cockburn, in the presence of Bingham, as "a true shark." To his followers he frequently denounced Sir George as an "assassin," etc.

Three horses were at the disposal of Napoleon early in November, and Las Cases did his best to induce him to take a ride, but he declined to do so because the English officer in attendance had orders to accompany the party. Aware that the exercise would have been beneficial to Napoleon, Las Cases was annoyed at this decision; and when Napoleon said the horses should be sent away, Las Cases, with some

humour, said he would go and give the order at once. "No, sir," said Napoleon, "no temper; seldom does one act rightly in such a condition; you should always let the night pass over the annoyance of the previous evening."

There were no prescribed limits when Napoleon was at "The Briars," but he could not go beyond the small estate, whether on foot or on horseback, without being followed. Once only did he venture outside the property, and he chose for that excursion an occasion when the Admiral was giving a ball at the Castle, and "The Briars" was deserted by all except Las Cases and the English officer. It was the 20th November. At 5 p.m. Napoleon walked with Las Cases to the point in the road, above "The Briars," whence Jamestown and the shipping were visible. Just below them in the valley they saw a small house, with a pretty garden, inhabited by Major Hodson, the Town Major. Hodson was on good terms with the exiles, having lent Las Cases the "Annual Register" for the years 1793–1807, fifteen volumes, which were much appreciated. Napoleon decided to visit the Major, and scrambled down a roughish path, with the faithful Las Cases in attendance, and the orderly officer following. Major Hodson and his wife were present to receive the visitors. It was now dark and Napoleon complained of fatigue. Hodson provided horses for the return to "The Briars," which was reached in time for a late dinner. The Admiral heard of this little escapade in the ball-room. The occasion and the hour selected for the excursion were not reassuring as to the prisoner's intentions.

Cockburn had already given Napoleon a personal invitation to a dinner at the Castle, which was politely declined. When he issued written invitations to the ball of the 20th November, there was one for "General Bonaparte," which gave great offence. The Emperor treated it with disdain, but he ordered his followers to accept. They all went, the Bertrands, the Montholons, Gourgaud, and even Las Cases, though he arrived very late, after the expedition to Hodson's.

Mme. de Montholon was delighted with the ball. She writes that all the notabilities of the island were present, the officials in their uniforms, and the ladies in fine costumes; the ball-room was very large and airy, with windows on both sides, and the scene was bright and gay. She had a beautiful ball dress, with a parure of emeralds and diamonds, which was said to be worth £1000; she danced, and enjoyed herself very much. Sir George Bingham danced with Madame Bertrand, "who was there in great splendour," says Bingham, "with a dress valued at £500." Las Cases writes that he was very pleased with the entertainment, in every respect. Gourgaud found cause to take offence. His partners were Miss Balcombe, Miss Betsy Balcombe, proudly displaying the dress which Napoleon had kept so long from her, and Miss Knipe, a very pretty girl, whom the French called *Bouton de rose*. Gourgaud thought these young women were not grand enough for him. At supper Cockburn had on his left Colonel Wilks and on his right Mrs. Wilks. Gourgaud would not sit in the place which had been allotted to him. He remarked that Las Cases was "lost in the crowd"—there were two hundred persons at supper. Next day he reported these misfortunes to Napoleon, who said Mme. Bertrand should have been placed on the right of the Admiral, instead of the Governor's wife, and that they had all been insulted. Las Cases, who was older and less sensitive than Gourgaud, remarked that he himself had been treated with every consideration, but Napoleon would not adopt that view, and announced that he would not allow his followers to accept any further invitations.

However, when Sir George Bingham, supported by his Major, called upon him and requested him to favour the officers of the 53rd with his presence at a luncheon, to be followed by a dance, Napoleon received them politely, and while declining for himself, said that his followers would be pleased to accept. On this occasion Colonel Wilks took in Mme. Bertrand to luncheon, but Gourgaud was insulted as

BALCOMBE'S HOUSE, THE BRIARS

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

usual; he would have us believe that no place was allotted to him at all, and that he was not offered anything to eat. On hearing this story Napoleon said there should certainly be no more acceptances. But when Colonel Wilks gave a ball on the 27th November at Plantation, although Gourgaud did not go, Las Cases was permitted to do so, with Mme. Bertrand, in the Governor's carriage, drawn by six oxen.

Napoleon's policy of complaint was already in full force at "The Briars." There was the refusal to admit that he was a prisoner of war: the attempt to force a British recognition of the title of Emperor: the demand for the abolition of all surveillance on land: the refusal to ride on horseback, or to walk beyond the garden, so long as an English officer followed him: the scheming to evade the regulations about correspondence: the deliberate rudeness to the officer responsible for his safety, who was denounced as a poisoner and assassin, while a marked preference was shown for a subordinate in the hope of making trouble between the two.

Napoleon was very unhappy at "The Briars," where he had his first experience of the meaning of captivity. "This is the anguish of death," he exclaimed. "To injustice and violence are now added insult and protracted torment. How can the monarchs of Europe permit the sacred character of sovereignty to be violated in my person? Do they not see that they are working their own destruction at St. Helena? But we have souls to disappoint our tyrants. Our situation may even have its charms. The eyes of the universe are fixed upon us. We are martyrs in an immortal cause. Millions of human beings are weeping for us: our country sighs, and glory mourns our fate." After a short pause, he continued: "If I consider only myself perhaps I should have reason to rejoice. Misfortune is not without its heroism and glory. Adversity was wanting to my career."

These despondent feelings he hoped to throw off in the greater comfort and larger air of Longwood. The valley of

"The Briars" is often close and oppressive. Napoleon complained of the dampness of the atmosphere, he did not sleep well, he caught frequent chills and had to give up dining in the tent. For three days in succession he did not leave his room.

But before he could be allowed to go to Longwood a great fuss had to be made about the smell of paint, which it was said His Majesty could not endure. At Elba, where he could do as he liked, Napoleon despised such a trifle. He had taken his abode in the Mulini Palace, Portoferraio, while it was in the hands of the workmen, in spite of the protests of his doctor, Fourreau de Beauregard, who declared that the smell was so strong as to be injurious to health. Napoleon felt no inconvenience from it, and even amused himself with mixing the paint, some of which stuck to his fingers.[1] He was not best pleased when on the 7th December Bertrand and Gourgaud found the paint at Longwood too fresh for a move to be made, especially as the more tactful Montholon declared that there was nothing to cause objection. On the 8th Las Cases reported that although the smell of the paint was certainly very slight, still it was too much for a man so sensitive as the Emperor. On the 9th Bertrand, after another visit to Longwood, declared that the paint was by no means offensive. With his approval, Napoleon gave orders for the much desired move to his new quarters to be made on the following day.

[1] "Napoleon in Exile: Elba," p. 109.

CHAPTER VII

LONGWOOD

(1) *The House and Grounds*

ABOUT a mile and a quarter from Hutt's Gate, on the way to Deadwood, there is a gate between two lodges which were the Longwood Guard Houses. A new road has hence been made in a direct line to Longwood House, the road in Napoleon's day having been of a wandering nature, to the right. About six hundred yards from the Guard is the gate into Longwood grounds.

Longwood when first erected, in the middle of the eighteenth century, consisted of a stone cowhouse and a barn. In 1787 Lieut.-Governor Robson made four rooms out of the cowsheds, and added a fifth to the north, in the centre, at right angles to the rest of the building. At the back there were five smaller rooms, a courtyard and a kitchen, and servants' quarters, with a detached stable beyond. There were no cellars nor air spaces under the floors, nor any damp course.

Sir George Cockburn soon made a great change in the place, employing all the skilled workmen of his squadron and all others that were to be found on the island; the materials were carried up the five miles from Jamestown on the shoulders of some two hundred seamen. Considerable further additions were made, in the quarters at the back, after Napoleon had come into residence.

The entrance on the north (the warm quarter of St. Helena, south of the equator) is by four stone steps, to a small verandah bounded by a wooden trellis, on which at

the present time a climbing nasturtium is growing freely. This and the entrance-room, usually called the billiard-room, were constructed by Sir George Cockburn. On each side of the front door there is a window 2½ feet wide.

The billiard-room is the largest in the house; it is 26 ft. 6 in. long, 17 ft. 6 in. broad, and 12 ft. 4 in. high, with three sash windows, which the French called guillotine, on the west, and two, with a fire-place between them, on the east. The five large and two small windows give an abundance of light to the room. In the fire-place there exists still the original grate, with five bars. This room is made of wood, and stands on a stone platform well above the ground. It is dry and pleasant at all times, except on the rare days when the sun is too powerful. The interior wood planks were painted green. The lower planks are new, replacing the originals, which had become covered, up to six feet high, with the names of vulgar visitors. There were white muslin curtains and green persians. In these latter, holes had been cut to enable Napoleon to peep out unobserved.

The room was at first used as the dining-room. A billiard-table was placed in it by Sir Hudson Lowe on the 18th July, 1816. This table, which is now at Plantation House, is 11 ft. 4 in. by 6 ft. 1 in. It has six legs, instead of the usual eight, and six pockets; the bed is of wood. Napoleon sometimes with his hands knocked the balls about, driving them against each other or into the pockets. He was much in this room, where he had space for walking up and down while dictating his memoirs: he would sometimes take surreptitious exercise here for several hours in a day, the persians being closed that his occupation might not be observed. His papers and plans were spread on the billiard-table, and the room was ultimately called the topographical cabinet. Napoleon would have worked here more if the windows had been higher. The sills were only 3 ft. 6½ in. from the floor; he could be seen from outside even when he was seated in a chair. The persians were in conse-

LONGWOOD HOUSE

1 Entrance room
  a Post-mortem table
2 Drawing-room
  b Death-bed of Napoleon
3 Dining-room
  f Altar
4 Library
5 Napoleon's sitting-room
  c Iron bed, used for the lying-in-state
  e Altar
6 Napoleon's bedroom
  h Iron bed
  i Small table
  k Sofa
  m Fire-place
7 Bathroom
  g Bath
8 Valet's room
9 Passage
10, 11 Offices
12 Servants' hall
13 Kitchen
14 Linen-room
15 Vignali's room
16 Dining-room for doctor and priests
17, 18 Buonavita's rooms
19 Surgery
20, 21, 22 Domestics
23 Antommarchi's room
24 Montholon family
25 Orderly officer

quence generally closed, which made the room too dark for work.

The next room is the *salon* or reception-room. It is of stone and belonged to Lieut.-Governor Robson's construction. It is 24 ft. 8 in. by 15 ft. 1 in. and 12 ft. high. There are two windows on the west and a fire-place on the east. The paper is yellow, with blue stars. On each side of the entrance door, which is 8 ft. 6 in. broad, there are wood-panelled niches 2 ft. 6 in. broad, enclosed by square wood columns, the whole breadth of ornamentation and door being 8 ft. 6 in.

Napoleon died in this room. His bed was placed against the wall between the two windows, facing the door, upon which his eyes must have frequently rested during the last days. The bust of his son was brought into this room ; it may have been placed in the right-hand niche of the doorway. The place where his bed stood is now enclosed with black wooden railings, and in the centre, upon a black wooden pedestal, there is a bust of the Emperor in white Carrara marble, by Chauvet.

Napoleon received in the *salon* the officers of the garrison, the Governor, and other important visitors. In the south-west corner stood the table on which his games of chess or piquet before dinner were played, his chair facing the entrance. Here, after dinner, coffee was served, and he would spend the evening in conversation or would read aloud to his suite. The room contained two sofas, two Pembroke tables, two arm-chairs, and eight other chairs with black horse-hair seats.

The next room is the dining-room, 22 ft. 7 in. by 15 ft. 1 in., and, like all the remaining rooms of the original building, 10 ft. high. There is a fire-place in the south wall, with a chimney breast 6 ft. 7 in. in length. Being an interior room there are no windows, and the only light comes from a glass door leading into the garden, but on ordinary days the room is not at all dark.[1] The paper left by the Skeltons

[1] The author tested this on the occasion of his visit in February, 1914.

bed, curtains of green silk, which were afterwards changed to white muslin.

At the foot of this bed, between the fire-place and the bathroom door, there was a sofa, facing the wall. At the side was the round table upon which meals were served, and which carried in the evening a three-branched candlestick. On the wall was hung Isabey's portrait of Marie Louise holding her son in her arms. The chimney-piece was of wood, painted white. On it rested a mirror, 18 in. by 15 in., in a gilt frame with gilded columns. The most conspicuous object on the chimney mantel was a bust of the King of Rome. There were also two silver candlesticks, two glass scent-bottles, and two cups of silver-gilt. On either side of the mirror were two portraits of Napoleon's son, and two of Marie Louise. On the left was hung the large silver alarum watch which had belonged to Frederick the Great, and on the right—to balance it—was Napoleon's own gold watch, which he had used in the first Italian campaign.

Between the windows there was a round-fronted chest of drawers, with the Emperor's large dressing-case upon it; and in the left corner was a handsome, large, solid silver wash-basin, brought from the Elysée. There were two arm-chairs and two ordinary chairs.

The two iron beds were bequeathed by Napoleon to his son, but he was not allowed to have them. Bertrand obtained one and Marchand the other. Bertrand's bed is now in the Museum at Malmaison. It is 6 ft. in length, 2 ft. 8 in. in breadth, and the legs with their large castors raise it only 8 in. from the ground.[1] The bed was very narrow for a stout man. Bertrand took it with him to Chateauroux, where he habitually used it, and himself died upon it. On his death it went to his son Napoleon, who, crippled with debt, sold it to his agent for five thousand francs, who in

[1] From measurements taken at the instance of the author, on a recent visit to Malmaison.

his turn disposed of it to his banker at Chateauroux. On his death it was sold by auction on the 20th June, 1911, for 1530 francs, to an American, Edward Tuck, who gave it to the Malmaison Museum. Marchand's bed went to Napoleon's sister Caroline, from whom it descended to Princess Murat. Marchand asserted that it was on the bed which fell to his lot that Napoleon died. It is impossible now to check that statement.

There were many of these iron beds in use in France a hundred years ago, owing to the patronage of Napoleon. An advertisement appeared in a Paris newspaper on the 7th August, 1811 : " Lits de fer. Brevetés d'invention, qui se replient comme les parapluies, très commodes pour les voyages et pour les appartements, dont les fonds elastiques évitent la quantité de matelas et les insectes, chèz Desarches, serrurier breveté de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et roi, rue de Verneuil, No. 18."

From the bedroom, Cockburn opened out a door in the south wall, to a corridor at the back, 14 ft. 1 in. by 9 ft. 2 in., in which he placed a large zinc bath encased in wood. On the west there was a window, afterwards made into a door with glass in the upper part. Outside was the tank of cold water, and the oven in which the water was heated. Beyond the bathroom two valets slept, in a room 15 ft. by 8 ft. 6 in. For the other domestics garrets were constructed in the roof, reached by a steep wooden stair. Better accommodation was afterwards provided for some of them at the back.

At first Gourgaud, O'Meara, and Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer in attendance, had to be content with tents. Las Cases obtained a room 14 ft. 10 in. by 12 ft. 1 in. next the kitchen, and his son had a room of the same size above, which he reached by a steep wooden stair. Las Cases found that the kitchen fire made his room unpleasantly hot, and moved for a time into the room which was afterwards the dining-room.

While Napoleon was in residence Cockburn erected a number of rooms at the back, but they were hastily constructed of wood, hot in summer and cold in winter, and the roofs soon proved leaky. Las Cases and his son had a suite of three small rooms: Gourgaud had two larger rooms; and O'Meara and the orderly had fair-sized rooms. These apartments were connected with the old stable, which was converted into a small house, with an entrance-hall and six rooms, into which the Montholon family moved as soon as the work was finished.

The servants' quarters were arranged round a yard. They consisted of a servants' hall, a kitchen and scullery, larder, butler's pantry, storeroom, silver and lumber room with a staircase leading to sleeping quarters above, and a linen room.

Altogether there were thirty-six rooms on the ground floor, and a number of garrets. All the rooms, except the billiard-room, were built without cellars or air spaces underneath. This primitive arrangement, with the naturally moist, marine climate, made the rooms damp. The dining-room was narrow and not well lighted, the study and bedroom were small. These two rooms, in which Napoleon spent nearly all his time, were not quite as unsuitable as might appear. They were found to be, a hundred years later, in 1914, agreeable and cheery quarters by the French guardian, M. Roger, who described them to me as warm in winter, cool in summer, and well lighted. A fire was used in the bedroom on damp days in the winter, but it soon made the room unpleasantly hot. For Napoleon, the narrow proportions of these rooms, which have been the cause of so much wasted indignation, were not distasteful. His bedroom at Malmaison was only 17 ft. by 14 ft., against the 15 ft. by 14 ft. 6 in. at Longwood. He built for himself at San Martino, Elba, a study and bedroom still smaller, only 14 ft. by 11 ft. He liked small rooms, in which he could obtain, with a big fire, and the windows closely shut,

LONGWOOD HOUSE, FEBRUARY, 1914

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

the hot, stuffy atmosphere he desired. When he wanted more space for walking up and down, he went into the billiard-room.

There were many complaints of the innumerable rats, which were said also to infest the Bertrands' house. There were no rats in that house during the author's residence in 1914, though the grounds and fields swarmed with them. Rats do great damage to crops all over the island.

A drive led from the west gate to the front of the house. For workmen and provision carts, there was a straight road from the west gate to the yard. A similar road led from the yard through an avenue of trees planted on the windward side, to the east gate, which was the nearest point of exit for excursions into the wood.

In front of Napoleon's windows a small garden was made, enclosed by a wooden trellis, and there was a similar small garden with trellis on the east, outside the dining-room and library.

Cockburn erected a tent on the north-east of the house. Napoleon spent much of his time in it when the weather was propitious, there he would have his *déjeuner*, he would receive visitors, and he would do much of his dictation. The position selected was fully exposed to the south-east trade wind, from which shelter could have been obtained on the other side of the house. It would appear that Napoleon enjoyed the soft and warm embrace of this salubrious breeze.

The garden outside Napoleon's rooms, on the west, was in full view of domestics and tradespeople on their way to the servants' quarters ; a higher screen was made by raising the trellis upon a parapet. Further seclusion was, later on, obtained by the construction of a sod wall extending from the bathroom towards the west and then turning north ; this gave complete privacy, and a door was opened on to it from the bathroom. Napoleon used this secluded enclosure as an observation fort : the wall was pierced by hollow

tubes of tin, through which he could spy out to the back of the house, in one direction, and to the road leading from the lodge gates in the other. In 1819–20 Napoleon constructed additional gardens on both sides of the house, with tanks, and streams of running water.

Nothing remains of the old garden except a semicircular cement pond, and two ilex trees which stand a few yards to the north-east of the front door. It may have been under one of these trees that, when the tent had been removed, Napoleon sometimes had his *déjeuner* served. Further off, in the north-west of the grounds, there are two old pines still standing, but they are not as old as the ilex trees.

The guardian, M. Roger, cultivates the small garden outside Napoleon's rooms. I noticed in flower the violet, fuchsia, geranium, nasturtium, yellow everlasting, white marguerite, heliotrope, ageratum, passion flower, canna, and a number of acacia trees which have grown to a height of fifteen feet in a few months. There is also a clump of bananas, a fine fig, and—*horribile dictu*—a bed of Bourbon arum lilies.

On the death of Napoleon there was some difficulty in coming to a decision as to the use to be made of these buildings. They were abandoned for two years. On the 5th June, 1823, Governor Walker wrote that "the farm buildings at Longwood are in a ruinous condition, and their reconstruction would be attended with great expense"; and he proposed to use "the old dwelling-house at Longwood as farm offices, as they could not be consigned to a more useful or a more necessary purpose."[1] When, in 1840, the French officers who had arrived in order to take to France Napoleon's body, went up to Longwood, they were horrified at what they saw. The walls separating Napoleon's bedroom and study from the bathroom and valet's room, had been removed, and the space was used as a stable; a door near the tank had been opened for the entrance of the animals;

[1] "St. Helena Almanac," 1880, p. 22.

the three windows and door into the small garden had been blocked up and two stable windows, with iron bars and no glass, had been substituted. The room in which Napoleon died contained a thrashing machine; a cowshed, a pigsty, and a poultry-house were just outside it.

On the restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty attention was again directed to the house in which the founder had died. A French visitor spoke with indignation of the degradation he had witnessed, and an English officer of the Navy, Lieutenant Stack, published a number of water-colour sketches he had made on the spot, showing the thrashing machine, and the farm outbuildings. In 1854 Napoleon III made overtures, through the French Ambassador in London, for the purchase of the house, with 2½ acres of land. At that time the Longwood farm was leased to Isaac Moss for twenty-one years from the 29th July, 1852. Moss obtained an entrance fee from every visitor whom he could persuade to give him a shilling for a sight of the thrashing machine at work in the room in which Napoleon died, and the horses and cows in their glory in the rooms in which he lived. As compensation for surrendering the remainder of his lease over the house and 2½ acres of land —a small portion of the Longwood farm—Moss demanded and obtained no less a sum than £3500. The transfer was made by a deed dated the 20th July, 1857. The property was vested in the Emperor of the French and his heirs by an Ordinance of the Governor and Council of St. Helena, on the 18th March, 1858, and this act was ratified by a Privy Council, presided over by the Prince Consort at Buckingham Palace, on the 7th May, 1858.

On the 7th July, 1858, Baron de Rougement arrived and formally took possession of the property on behalf of Napoleon III. It was decided to restore the house as nearly as possible to its former condition, and Captain Massellin, of the Engineers, arrived on the 1st March, 1859, to carry out the work. He did it in the most conscientious manner. The

house is now, as regards the important rooms, practically the same as it was in the time of Napoleon, except that the walls of Napoleon's bedroom, study, and bathroom, though of the same size as the original walls, are new; all the doors and window-frames, though of the original colour and design, are new; and the papers, though of the original design, are also new—pieces of the originals having been fortunately discovered in Jamestown, exact copies were specially manufactured in France. At the back, the premises which belonged to the old Lieut.-Governor's house, which had been solidly constructed and were not altogether ruined, were reconstructed with great care and patience; but the wooden erections of Sir George Cockburn, and the old stable which had been made into a house for the Montholon family, Captain Masselin was directed to demolish and clear away. The restorations cost £2176, and the additional £1250 required to treat these portions in the same manner was considered too much; moreover, they would have needed frequent repairs.

The result is that the present building is little more than half the size of that which formerly existed. Though the front part of the house, the only portion used by Napoleon himself, is now precisely as it was in his day, the removal of the back half gives a false impression as to the size of the original house and the amount of accommodation it contained. Another great change is the absence of trees. Madame de Montholon says: "Around the house we had a garden partially shaded by large and beautiful trees forming a belt."[1] A visitor in September, 1816, wrote: "The interior of the premises is well stocked with ornamental and other trees, forming a pleasant shubbery."[2] A French visitor in 1825 found the garden adorned with large branching bushes, which gave pretty green corners, and he was pleased with the low murmur of the water flowing among

[1] "Souvenirs," p. 125.
[2] "Journal of a visit to South Africa," by the Rev. J. C. Latrobe, 1818.

BERTRAND'S HOUSE, LONGWOOD

From a photograph, taken in February, 1914, by Graham Balfour

the shrubs. He cut off a branch of a myrtle that had been planted by Napoleon, and carried away a piece of the Chinese bridge. A painting by Marchand gives a very pleasant idea of a long, low, capacious house, surrounded by lawns, gardens, shrubberies, and ornamental trees. The present desolate aspect is misleading. The house is now a torso dumped in a bare yard. It was very different when Napoleon was in residence.

Bertrand, as at Elba, preferred to live with his family apart. At first he occupied a small house at Hutt's Gate, which is now the residence of the Vicar of St. Matthew's, about 1½ miles from Longwood. It has three tiny rooms on the ground floor and four others above. Cockburn began the erection of a new house at Longwood, 120 yards to the north of Napoleon's front door, but the building was still unfinished when Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, and it was not till the 20th October, 1816, that the Bertrands moved in.

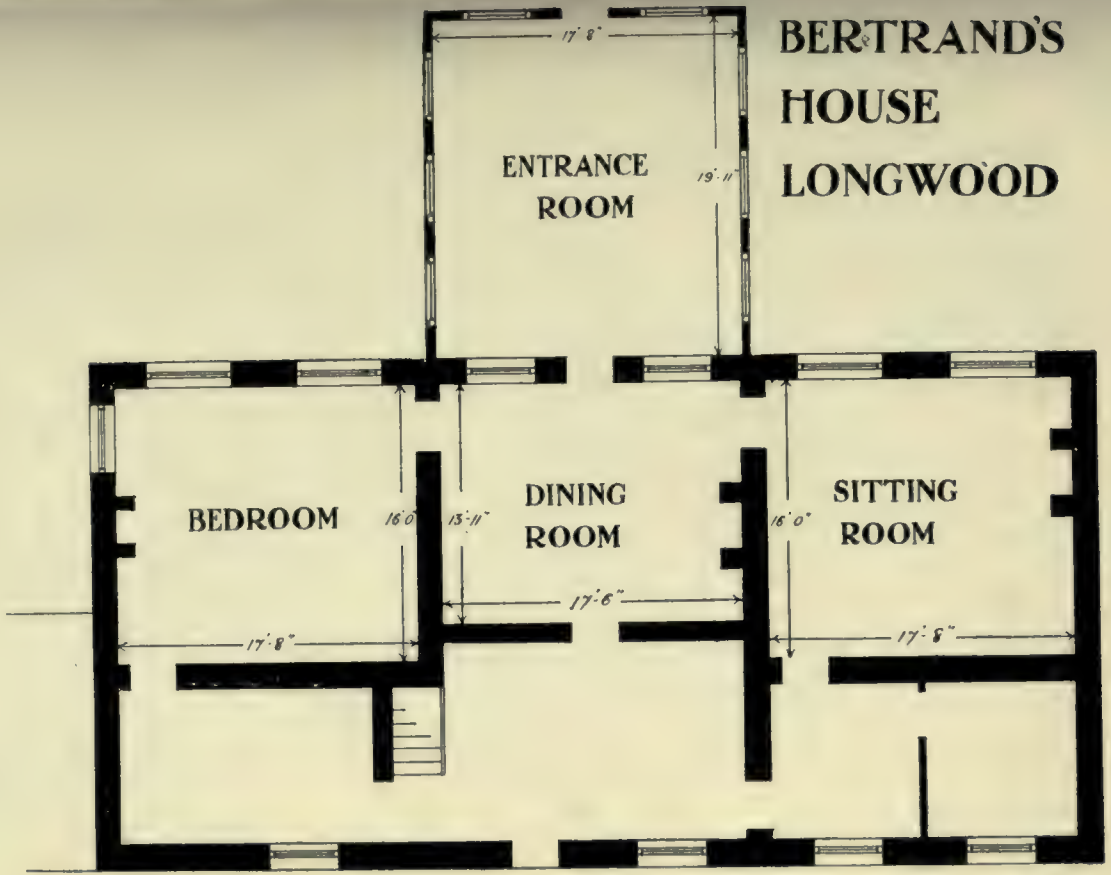
The Bertrand house has not been altered in any way, and is now, except as to wall-paper, precisely as Napoleon knew it. In plan it resembles Longwood, with a front room at right angles to the remainder of the building.

A double flight of steps leads up to the entrance door, which opens on to a room 20 ft. by 17 ft. 8 in., and 10 ft. high. This room was built for Madame Bertrand by Sir Hudson Lowe, but it was used by the Grand Marshal as his own reception-room; thus Madame Bertrand was not disturbed by her husband's visitors, and Napoleon had not to pass through her room, when seeking Bertrand. The room has three windows on each side, and one on each side of the door, which give an abundance of light. The windows were made in the French style—an example of Sir Hudson Lowe's desire to be accommodating, as all the other windows, built to the order of Sir George Cockburn, are of the English sash design. The room is free from damp, as it stands on a stone platform several feet above the ground. It is constructed of wood; the interior walls are of canvas, covered with paper.

The windows are still provided with the original green persians; those on the north and west are marked with the holes cut in them by the order of Napoleon, to enable him to look out without being observed. A semicircular cut was made in the lower part of one of the wooden bars, and a corresponding cut was made in the upper part of the bar below; thus a circular opening was made into which Napoleon placed his spy-glass. Some of the openings are at a height of 5 ft., convenient for a man nearly 5 ft. 6 in. in height; others are 3 ft. 10 in. from the ground, suitable for the same man when seated in a chair drawn close to the French windows, which would be opened wide. From the north windows Napoleon could watch the movements of the troops at Deadwood camp, about 1½ miles distant, and was also a spectator of the spring and autumn race meetings; from the west windows he saw the gradual growth of the new house. These shutters and the pond are the only marks left of the Emperor's presence at Longwood.

Beyond the entrance-room is the dining-room, which is dark and narrow, with four doors. Its dimensions are 17 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft. 11 in., and it is 10 ft. high. Some light filters in through sash windows, by way of the entrance-room. On the east is Madame's drawing-room, a deeper room than the dining-room, 17 ft. 8 in. by 16 ft., and 10 ft. high; with two windows to the north. There is a room of the same size on the other side of the dining-room. This was Madame Bertrand's bedroom, and here was born Arthur Bertrand, whom she presented to Napoleon as the only person who had entered Longwood without the permission of Sir Hudson Lowe. These three rooms have fire-places. At the back are the kitchen and domestic offices, and the steep wooden staircase leading to the children's quarters, which consisted of two fair-sized rooms, one of them having a fire-place, and a smaller chamber between.

The yard at the back, with the outbuildings, is enclosed by a stone wall. In the front is a lawn, with picturesque


BERTRAND'S
HOUSE
LONGWOOD
ENTRANCE
ROOM
17'-8"
19'-11"
BEDROOM
16'-0"
13'-11"
DINING
ROOM
16'-0"
SITTING
ROOM
17'-6"
17'-8"
17'-8"

views to north and east, and there are small gardens on each side. In these gardens, which are not tended with any care, I found flourishing the following plants and trees: plumbago, hibiscus, fuchsia, poinsettia, geranium, canna, oleander, rose, asparagus, fern, box, arum, yam, datura, periwinkle, dahlia, scented verbena, with good-sized trees of apple, peach, loquat, and olive.

Bertrand's house is now known as Longwood Farm, and is in the occupation of the farmer Mr. James Deason and his family.

Within fifty-three yards of Bertrand's is the house built for Napoleon, which he never occupied. It is a large building of one floor, with attics, built in a depression excavated for the purpose, to obtain shelter from the wind. It faces north and has, like the old house, an unimpeded view of Flagstaff and the Barn.

Seven steps lead to a verandah 8 ft. 6 in. deep by 66 ft. in length, which is supported by cast-iron pillars. Three French windows open from it into a fine apartment 88 ft. by 22 ft. All the principal rooms are 14 ft. high. On the right is the library, 28 ft. by 24 ft. 9 in.; it has two windows to the west and one to the north. Beyond it is the bedroom intended for Napoleon, 19 ft. 6 in. by 24 ft. 9 in. (much larger than the 17 ft. by 14 ft. 6 in. which had satisfied him at Malmaison), with a large window looking west; beyond it is the dressing-room, 15 ft. 8 in. by 12 ft. 2 in., and a bathroom 11 ft. 9 in. by 9 ft. 2 in. Adjoining these is the valet's room, and a stair leading to the garrets. Left of the reception-room is the dining-room, 22 ft. 2 in. by 25 ft. 9 in., with two French windows on to the verandah. There is a suite of rooms with a separate front door, to the left, which was designed for the Montholon family, and other apartments at the back for the priest, physician, and orderly officer. The kitchens, stables, and offices were also at the back. The outside walls are 2 ft. thick, and the interior 1 ft. 8 in. There are large cellars which keep the house dry.

No complaint could have been made of the size or solidity of this house. It was furnished and finished in good style by superior workmen sent out from England. There were marble chimney-pieces, gilded ornaments, gilt mouldings, fine chandeliers, and handsome wall-papers. The windows are large, with low sills and strong shutters. Nearly every room has a fire-place. No expense was spared either in building, furnishing, or decorating.

The house has been empty, or nearly so, ever since it was erected. Governor Dallas lived in it, preferring both house and situation to Plantation, and Earl and Countess Bathurst were in occupation of a part of the building when Lord Bathurst's regiment, the 4th Gloucesters, was encamped on Deadwood Plain, to guard the Boer prisoners, in 1901.

The garden contains specimens of a very varied horticulture: bananas, figs, loquats, a fine caoutchouc, and the arum lily, geranium, canna, rose, dahlia, etc.

At a distance never nearer than 127 ft. from the house, and stretching in other parts much further away, an iron railing was erected. It is still in position, some parts of it completely hidden by plumbago, which grows as a weed. The rails of cast iron rise 4 ft. 7 in. above the stone base in which they are fixed. They have arrow heads, an ornamental vase on each eleventh rail. The whole is very strong and solid, and must have cost a large sum of money.[1] The railing makes a large semicircle, enclosing both the new house and Bertrand's.

The removal of the railings from Jamestown was commenced on the 9th March, 1819, and the fixing of the rails at Longwood on the 2nd April, 1819.[2]

Napoleon stoutly asserted that he would never live in the new house so long as it was enclosed in an iron cage. Great care had been taken to make the railings invisible from the house. The natural slope of the ground had made it possible,

[1] The ornamental iron vases weigh 16 pounds each.
[2] B.M., 20233, p. 195.

by raising the lower part of the lawn and sinking the railings, to keep them out of sight from the windows. But a walk of few paces reveals their existence, and Napoleon had just ground for complaining that the fact of his being a prisoner was unnecessarily emphasized. A hedge to conceal the night sentries was all that was required. Nothing more had been necessary round the old house. The iron railing would enable fewer men to do the night duty. That consideration should not have been allowed to weigh against the inevitable, and natural, objections of the prisoner. Iron bars do not make a cage among free men, who use them to keep out robbers; they have a very different meaning to a captive.

(2) *The Scenery*

Longwood House stands 1782 ft. above the sea, on the south edge of a plain which stretches north, north-east, and east, in three branches cut into by valleys. The whole of this area was formerly covered with trees. In the "St. Helena Records" there is an entry for the year 1716: "The great wood is in a flourishing condition, and full of young trees, but miserably lessened and destroyed within our memories, and is not near the circuit and length it was, but we believe it does not contain less now than 1500 acres of fine woodland and good ground; but no water but what is brackish, which is the reason why that part was not inhabited when the people first chose out settlements. But if wells could be sunk we should think it the most pleasant and healthiest part of the island."[1]

The inhabitants petitioned to be allowed to make use of "the great Wood and Common; otherwise they will be ruined," but Governor Roberts replied: "Provided you will agree to make a law to plant one acre of wood in every ten acres of land you possess; otherwise you shall have no benefit of our wood or common, as our published order." In spite of this decree the wood continued to be taken for

[1] "St. Helena Records," by H. R. Janisch, p. 134.

fuel, and the young trees were destroyed by goats. In 1723 great efforts were made to keep out the goats, as much as £5400 being spent on fences. The Longwood-Deadwood area was used by the Governor for farming purposes, the whole of the Company's black cattle being able to find pasture there for nine months in the year. The trees continued to disappear, and in 1777–8 a stone wall was erected three miles round the estate, and gum trees planted on all vacant spots, at a total cost of £8000. The wall still exists, in a ruined state. Then in 1787 the farm buildings were converted into a dwelling-house for the Lieut.-Governor, and water was brought from the hills. Governor Wilks in 1812 laid 3226 yards of lead pipe from a spring under Diana's Peak, at a cost of £1231.[1] The arrival of Napoleon made even this supply inadequate, and Sir Hudson Lowe brought water in pipes from three separate springs, which afforded an abundant supply for Longwood House and garden, for the Company's farm, and for the camp at Deadwood.[2]

The chief tree in the Great Wood was the gum (*Commidendron robustum*), which is indigenous to St. Helena. It grows to about twenty feet in height, with a crooked stem and umbrella top of thin branches and small grey-blue leaves; it has a small yellow flower, not unlike a dwarf aster, and is sometimes classed among the asters. In the time of Napoleon there were still many gums between the Lodge and Longwood, and they formed a wood between the house and Horse Point to the east, over a space of two miles. Napoleon complained of their monotony, and that they gave little shade.

The northern spur of the Longwood-Deadwood plateau extends for two miles, in rolling downs of coarse grass with patches of hottentot fig, to the base of Flagstaff Hill, 2275 ft., a conical-shaped hill which bounds the horizon. The whole of this area, the Deadwood Plain and slopes, is in full view

[1] "St. Helena Records," by H. R. Janisch, pp. 235, 215.
[2] Letter-book to England, 5th Dec., 1820: at the Castle, Jamestown.

from Longwood House. On it were encamped the 53rd, 66th, and 20th Regiments in succession, and in 1900–2, the Boer prisoners and their guards. Here took place the spring and autumn race meetings, over an excellent course of a mile and a half, with a straight run of a mile.

On the Deadwood spur stood formerly the house of Mr. Breame, who farmed the Longwood estate on behalf of the East India Company. In one year, 1820, he had 26½ acres under potatoes. The fruit garden was in Mulberry Gut, one of the most charming spots it is possible to imagine. It is within a quarter of a mile of Longwood House, and extends for about half a mile along a beautiful grass-bottomed valley, wooded on both sides, an ideal sylvan retreat, fresh and airy on the warmest days and sheltered from boisterous winds. At one time mulberries grew here in profusion, and fruits of various kinds were cultivated by a gardener, who lived in a small house known as Mulberry Cottage, now a ruin. In various stages of disorderly growth are still to be seen the banana, pomegranate, peach, pear, apple, guava, and loquat, with many beautiful flowering trees and shrubs. Napoleon went several times into Mulberry Gut. He might have had a summer-house built in this delightful valley, where he could have taken his meals, and spent the day in complete seclusion. It was within the Longwood estate, and free from all observation.

On the other side, north-east from Longwood House, there is a plain of arable land stretching for a mile northwards. It was cultivated by the Company's farmer, and here Napoleon himself one day put his hand to the plough and directed the tracing of one furrow. The land is a red broken-up clay, from which, with the aid of manure, great crops may be produced. Mr. Deason, who has worked it many years, obtains in a year two crops of excellent potatoes, or one of potatoes with one of either maize, oats, barley, mangel-wurzel, turnip, or swede. There is better land more in the interior of the island, in the valleys or sheltered slopes of

the higher parts, where there is more rain and less wind, and a greater depth of earth. At Longwood beneath the thin covering of broken-up red clay and humus, there is a stiff clay bed; water soon pours away, and plants have a tendency to shrivel in the hot earth, unless the rain falls with regular frequency.

This plain slopes down gently towards the north for a mile or more, as far as Netley Gut, and it is bounded on the east by Bilberry Gut, so named from the bushes it formerly contained of the Cape gooseberry, locally called Bilberry. Beyond this valley there is a third plain, which stretches down from Longwood House eastwards for two miles, ending in the steep rocks above Prosperous Bay. It was in this direction that Napoleon took most of his drives, the horses driven at a great pace between the trees. Though Archambaud was a skilled postilion, there was some danger in the sport until Sir George Cockburn made lanes in the wood, having trees cut down and uprooted for the purpose.

There are now no trees in this direction, the wood having been cleared away for pasture at the lower end, and agriculture in the upper part. There are recent plantations, here and there, of clumps of thorny aloes; at a little distance they have the appearance of steeple-chase obstacles. They are bunkers on the golf course of nine holes.

Mellis—whose sympathies were with Napoleon—says that the Longwood-Deadwood plain is "attractive through the lovely and picturesque mountain scenery of its neighbourhood." The views from Longwood House are, indeed, most singular and pleasing. In front are the brown and green slopes leading up Flagstaff Hill, and on the right is the Barn, a remarkable mass of indigo and brown. Further to the right is a large expanse of sea, the horizon being high owing to the 1780 ft. of Longwood, and the clearness of the air; the sea is of a deep rich blue, varying to cobalt and black marble, and there are times when owing to the shadows from clouds, and the plainly visible squalls of passing rain, the

LONGWOOD AND COUNT BERTRAND'S HOUSE

From a water-colour by Basil Jackson

surface appears to be uneven, in hill and hollow, with colours of pearl, silver, dove-breast, and many beautiful shades.

On the slopes of the mountains, and in the ravines, the effect of dark rock and coloured clay is remarkable. There are broad bands of brown, buff, orange, rose, lilac, mauve, violet, ashen blue, and even clear white occurs. These clays have been collected in bottles, and sent to England for exhibition. Lower down the hill there are patches of blood-red earth, into which intrudes the brightest of lush green, here dark and rich, there a brilliant emerald ; in the valleys the green, with a soft brown, is of a velvety texture. Much of the effect may be due to the quality of St. Helena light, which, though soft, is clear, as after rain. In the bright blue sky there are often white fleecy clouds floating along.

The texture of the atmosphere, its soft clearness, furnishes the most sublime moonlight effects ; there is an unearthly rapture in the light of a full moon.

The views to the south from the grounds of Longwood House are also most romantic and picturesque, for besides the brilliant colouring, there are here the thickly wooded green hills, Diana's Peak, 2700 ft., a favourite resort for picnics, and Halley's Mount, 2460 ft. On the right is Alarm Hill, 1960 ft., and then High Knoll, 1900 ft. On the left is Woody Ridge, and beyond it the curious-shaped Stone-top, and another large expanse of sea. It was from this direction that all vessels approached the anchorage at Jamestown, coming round with the south-east trade wind. They were visible from the windows of Longwood House.

The scenery in the neighbourhood of Longwood arrests the attention day after day. Huge indigo rocks, brown and green hills, rolling downs, bright skies with clear white clouds and the bluest of seas ; on the slopes the astounding colours, and in the valleys the glades of brown and green velvet.

These striking effects were lost upon Napoleon, who was nearly colour-blind. The position of Longwood was the best

on the island for walks and drives. Napoleon had far greater freedom there than he could have obtained anywhere else. A visitor in 1816 wrote: "In the whole island of St. Helena I have not seen a spot more convenient and airy, and where there is so much opportunity for taking a ride in a carriage or on horseback without interruption."[1]

There is a description of Longwood in the "European Magazine" of December, 1794, just twenty-one years before the arrival of Napoleon: "The house was rebuilt not long since; and a very good room, from which there is a view of this beautiful height, from Saddle to Barn Point, with the sea beneath, was added by Major Robson, the Lieut.-Governor. The scene being level and extensive, exhibited a new species of beauty here, and made us forget, for a while, the more confined, though diversified prospects we had left behind."

(3) *Climate*

The distinctive feature of the Longwood climate is the S.E. trade-wind which breaks persistently on the plateau. Mellis says that this wind is so health-giving that it is known as the "doctor," "as pure a wind," he says, "as is found on the face of the earth." The air is deliciously soft and genial, and to stand on the exposed side of Longwood House on a warm evening and drink in the exquisite breath of the trade-wind is a delightful experience.

The wind often brings with it drifts of cloud, but the Longwood fields do not always obtain the desired moisture, the clouds being frequently diverted to Hutt's Gate or to the hills about Diana's Peak. This is referred to by Brooke, who says: "During the twelve years that Lieutenant-Governor Robson had his official residence at Longwood it was his constant complaint that when flattered by hopes of deriving benefit from clouds which he saw rise to windward and approach towards his grounds, his expectations were disappointed by a change in their direction towards the

[1] J. C. Latrobe, "Journal of a Visit to South Africa, 1818," p. 374.

higher grounds, whether wooded or barren." Hutt's Gate, only a mile and a quarter away, thus gets much more rain than Longwood.

Plantation House also has a higher rainfall. Barnes, after quoting records which show that in 1813 there fell at Plantation 32·7 inches of rain and at Longwood only 19·5 inches, remarks that Plantation is " more in the neighbourhood of the mountains and directly in the track of the clouds and fogs passing to leeward." Observations of the rainfall on the lawn in front of the Bertrand House, were taken by the Messrs. Deason for the years shown below (see next page).

The rainy season begins in March and ends in September, these seven months giving an annual average fall of 18·3 inches, or 2·6 inches per month, while the other five months give an annual average of 6·2 inches, or 1·24 inches per month. The figures for Hutt's Gate give an annual average for the year of 39 inches for the nineteen years from 1892 to 1910, with a maximum of 49·7 in 1906 and a minimum of 31 in 1900. The rainfall at Plantation, though greater than at Longwood, is less than at Hutt's Gate, the figures giving an average of 33·4 inches for the only five years recorded. At Oakbank, about half-way between Hutt's Gate and Plantation, the average for five years was 46·6, while at Jamestown in the same years it was only 8·2 inches. Thus we have :

Jamestown	8·2 inches.
Longwood	24·5 ,,
Plantation	33·4 ,,
Hutt's Gate	39 ,,
Oakbank	46·6 ,,

These are great differences to be found within a triangular space of five miles by four by three.

The rainfall at Greenwich averages 25 inches. Though the total fall of rain is not greater at Longwood than at Greenwich, it is much more frequent : rain falls at Hutt's Gate on two days out of three, and at Longwood

RAINFALL AT LONGWOOD RECORDED BY THE MESSRS. DEASON

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1888 . .	1·02	1·44	1·16	2·39	2·03	2·93	3·97	2·54	1·70	0·32	0·68	1·25	21·43
1889 . .	1·07	0·58	3·41	4·14	3·42	1·45	2·13	1·04	2·62	0·73	0·94	0·95	22·48
1891 . .	2·39	1·30	1·88	1·12	4·85	3·70	1·89	3·72	2·20	1·53	2·51	1·18	28·27
1892 . .	0·48	2·50	2·09	4·20	3·43	2·23	2·01	1·35	4·00	1·14	0·62	0·34	24·39
1893 . .	4·00	4·07	4·72	2·39	1·33	0·92	2·46	3·47	2·19	0·88	1·35	0·29	28·07
1894 . .	1·18	1·28	6·74	3·16	2·72	2·27	1·27	2·37	1·76	0·64	0·30	0·91	24·60
1898 . .	1·18	1·77	2·29	2·20	2·78	1·17	2·42	0·95	0·62	0·98	0·48	0·63	17·47
1899 . .	0·71	2·09	2·62	3·95	4·71	1·96	4·20	3·01	3·22	2·99	0·24	1·67	31·37
1900 . .	0·96	1·40	2·51	2·28	1·72	2·66	3·78	2·91	1·30	1·48	0·40	1·51	22·91
1901 . .	0·96	1·30	3·89	4·49	1·64	1.03	1·71	2·68	3·05	0·99	1·00	1·99	24·73
	13·95	17·78	31·31	30·32	28·63	20·32	25·84	24·04	22·66	11·68	8·52	10·72	245·72

Yearly Average, 24·57.

nearly as often, probably four days in the week. In the winter there is misty sea fog and much cloudy weather. Even in the summer there can never be any certainty of a rainless day; however clear the sky may be in the morning, a perfect day may end at or before sunset with a squall of drifting rain.

Records of temperature were taken at Longwood in the years 1841–5 in a magnetic observatory built within 150 yards of Napoleon's house; the results may be compared with the figures for Jamestown and for Greenwich.

	Jamestown	Longwood	Greenwich		Jamestown	Longwood	Greenwich
January	74	64	38·6	August	67	57	61·6
February	76	65·8	39·5	September	69	57	57·2
March	77	66·2	41·9	October	70	58·2	50
April	76	65·6	47·3	November	70	60	43·5
May	72	63	53·1	December	72	61·7	39·9
June	70	60	59·4	Year	72	61·4	50·4
July	68	58	62·7				

Longwood is 11 degrees warmer than Greenwich, and nearly 11 degrees cooler than Jamestown. The warmest month at Longwood is March, with a mean of 66·2, and the least warm is September, with a mean of 57. The absolute maximum recorded was 74·8 in March, and the absolute minimum was 52 in September. The warmest month at Greenwich is July with a mean of 62·7, the coldest, January with a mean of 38·6; the absolute maximum in one year, 1911, was 100 in August, and the absolute minimum was 21·6 in February. Thus the difference between the warmest and coolest months at Longwood is only 9·2, while at Greenwich it is 23, two and a half times as much; the extreme range at Longwood is only 22·8 degrees, while at Greenwich it was (in one year) 78·4, three and a half times as much.

The temperature at Longwood varies very little, never going far in any direction from the mean for the year, which is 61·4, the temperature of an English August (61·6). Long-

wood is neither too hot nor too cold, keeping throughout at an ideal level. In the least warm months of the year, August and September, fires are pleasant, more against damp than cold; in a small room—as for example in Napoleon's room at Longwood—the fire soon becomes disagreeably hot. That fires are not necessary is proved by the fact that the house occupied by Mr. Frederick Deason, within 150 yards of Longwood House, was built in the year 1900 without fireplaces; and, though Sir G. Cockburn constructed four fireplaces for the Bertrand family in the house he built for them, 120 yards from Longwood House, a winter sometimes passes without a fire being lighted there by the present tenant, Mr. James Deason. The Messrs. Deason regard fires in winter at Longwood as luxuries which it is better to do without.

Longwood is sometimes described as bleak, an expression which may seem strange when applied to a place where the thermometer has never been known, even at night, to fall below 52. The warmest months in England have many night temperatures below that figure, and yet we do not consider July and August to be bleak months. But those who live at Longwood agree that it is often chilly there on winter evenings, or during the time of the mists and fogs; although it cannot be bleak in the English sense, the change is felt from the perpetual warmth and salubrity of the rest of the year.

The fall of the thermometer at sunset is slight, but it is sufficient to make a change in the quality of the wind, which may then strike cool, especially if a condition of heat has been produced by exercise, or a shower of rain has been encountered; to avoid the risk of a chill a change into dry clothing should be made as soon as possible.

Mosquitoes were complained of by the French, but they appear now at Longwood only in the autumn, and are not numerous. Flies are a great pest, and a danger to health, as carriers of disease.

The climate of Longwood, with its equability and its pure

sea breeze, is very exceptional, being the best in St. Helena, which is itself an abnormally healthy island.

Governor Sterndale says in his report to the Colonial Office of 1900 : " Deadwood Plain is a high plateau adjacent to Longwood, treeless and wind-swept, but with a porous soil which dries up quickly after rain. Its healthiness has been tested in 1899 by encamping the West Indian troops there, and it has been proved since by the rapid way in which disappeared the enteric fever which the prisoners brought with them, their general good health since, and their escape from influenza during the epidemic which prostrated nearly the whole of the islanders."

Governor Gallwey in his report of 1908, after remarking that there had been only two deaths in the year in the Longwood district out of a population of about 480 persons, the ages of the deceased being seventy-two and ninety-five, says : " The Colonial Surgeon, Dr. Arnold, hazards the opinion, which I too share, that, taking it all round, there exists no healthier spot than Longwood on the face of the earth."

It is impossible to ignore all this testimony. Napoleon at Longwood House was, in regard to healthiness of climate, in one of the favoured spots of the world.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LONGWOOD EXISTENCE

NAPOLEON rode up to Longwood, accompanied by his suite, on the 10th December, 1815. The ladies, with their children and their baggage, were taken in carriages drawn by oxen. Napoleon's first act on arrival was to plunge into a comfortable hot bath, a luxury he had not enjoyed since he left France five months back.

With the resources at his disposal he reorganized his Imperial Court. He had still with him the official who had superintended the Court ceremonies at Paris, who retained his former appellation of Grand Marshal of the Palace. Bertrand remained the intermediary for presentations, and was the representative of the Emperor on all formal occasions. It was undesirable to leave the management of the household in his hands while he was living at Hutt's Gate, a mile and a half away. Montholon was given charge of the service, the provisioning, and all domestic details, with the style of "Lord Chamberlain." Las Cases was the "Secretary of State." Gourgaud had the direction of the stables, as "Master of the Horse," and was also the "Aide-de-Camp General." Piontkowski was "Equerry," and Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon were the "Dames d'honneur."

The chief valet was Louis Marchand, who had joined the Imperial service in 1811, when his mother was one of the nurses of the King of Rome. In 1814 Madame Marchand went with Marie Louise, in attendance on the child, to Vienna, and her son Louis took the place vacated by Constant at the

side of the Emperor at Elba. Marchand, like Bertrand, recalled the great days of the Tuileries. He was young, only twenty-three years of age. He was a man of some education, had perfect manners, and was devoted to his master; his subsequent fortune was such as few valets have ever attained.

After Marchand came Louis Etienne Saint-Denis, who entered the Imperial household in 1806, aged eighteen, as an under-groom. He went with Napoleon to Spain and Germany, and in 1811 to Holland; after that journey he was promoted to the position of second mameluke, under the famous Roustam, with the name of Ali. In this capacity he was with the Emperor in the campaigns of Russia in 1812, and Germany in 1813. It was his duty to carry the Emperor's field-glass and a silver flask of brandy. St. Denis was at Elba with Napoleon, returned with him, and was on duty at Ligny and Waterloo.

St. Denis at St. Helena was the second valet, but he was also an outrider when Napoleon drove in his carriage with two postilions, and a following groom when he rode on horseback. He became a copyist and amanuensis, and was given charge of the books in the library.

Cipriani Franceschi, known as Cipriani, was a Corsican, who had been a secret agent, or spy, in Capri and neighbourhood during the time that Sir Hudson Lowe was Governor of the island; he claimed to have outwitted the Englishman. He went to Elba with Napoleon as a valet. He was now the major-domo. Though without education, he was a man of some natural ability. Napoleon had great confidence in him, and he was closely attached to the Bonapartes; his son was in attendance on Cardinal Fesch at Rome, and his daughter with Madame Letizia.[1]

Giovanni Natale Santini was another Corsican, of humble origin. Born in 1790, he enlisted in a Corsican regiment, and was present at Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram:

[1] "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène," by Frédéric Masson, p. 163.

he was an orderly attached to the staff in the campaigns of Russia in 1812, Germany in 1813, and France in 1814.

He went to Elba in the hope of obtaining a place in Napoleon's household, and was given the post of usher and keeper of the portfolio. He returned on the *Inconstant* with Napoleon, and after service in the Tuileries accompanied his master to the *Bellerophon*, and so to St. Helena. On board the *Northumberland* Santini on one occasion cut the hair of his fellow Corsican, Cipriani, and was then promoted to the post of barber to the Emperor, whose hair he cut on the ship. At Longwood he acted also as a tailor, or repairer of garments; and he sometimes provided the larder with game which he shot on wandering expeditions.

Noverraz, a Swiss, born near Lausanne in 1790, entered the Imperial service in 1811 as a messenger, and being a well-made, tall man, became a footman, in 1813. He travelled with Napoleon to Elba. At Orgon, on the journey, the people threatened Napoleon with death; Noverraz, who was sitting on the box of the carriage, had to be restrained from attacking the nearest of the crowd. Noverraz was near Napoleon during the battle of Waterloo, and through the retreat to Paris. Napoleon called him his Swiss bear.

Pierron was the butler. He had entered the Imperial kitchen as an assistant in 1807, and went with Napoleon to Elba. At St. Helena, after the death of Cipriani, he became the major-domo, making the journeys to Jamestown to buy groceries; and at one time, after the departure of Lepage, and before the arrival of Chandelier, he was also the cook. He was a capable man, but of morose temper, and was not popular.

The stables were in the care of the brothers Archambaud, who had both been in the Imperial stables, and had gone to Elba as footmen. They were the postilions at St. Helena, where both proved to be drivers of great skill. Gentilini, who had been chief boatman at Elba, was a footman at St. Helena. Rousseau, who had been tinsmith and candle-man at Paris,

was now in charge of the silver, which was in great quantity, brought both from the Tuileries and the Elysée, with a number of large silver pieces and a complete dinner service in silver-gilt.[1]

The cook was Lepage, who had been with Joseph at Mortefontaine, and was the only one of the Longwood establishment who had not belonged to the Imperial household at Paris: he and Rousseau were the only two who had not been with Napoleon at Elba.

The remaining French servants were Josephine, Madame de Montholon's maid, and Bernard, with his wife and son, servants in the Bertrand house. In addition there were a number of English sailor servants, and some people of the island, and also negroes and Chinese.

An official return, of the 25th March, 1816, gives the "Nominal list of persons composing the establishment at Longwood," in the following form, with the regulation titles and order of precedence (derived from the French).[2]

Officers.	General Bonaparte	
	Count Bertrand	
	Count de Montholon	
	Count de Las Cases	
	Baron Gourgaud	
	Monsieur Emanuel de Las Cases	
	Captain Piontkowski	7
Ladies.	Countess Bertrand	
	Countess de Montholon	2
Children.	3 of Count Bertrand	
	1 of Count de Montholon	4

Foreign domestics of General Bonaparte.

Marchand, 1st Valet de Chambre
St. Denis, 2nd „ „
Noverraz, 3rd „ „
Cipriani, Maître d'hôtel

[1] "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène," by Frédéric Masson.
[2] B.M., 20154, p. 78.

Lepage, Cook		
Pierron, Confectioner		
Santini, Rousseau, Gentilini	Valets	
Archambaud, Senr., Archambaud, Junr.	Grooms or coachmen	11

Count Bertrand's foreign domestics.

Bernard, Senr., Bernard	Valets	2

Foreign female servants.

Collette Bernard, Waiting-maid to Countess Bertrand.	
Josephine, Waiting-maid to Countess de Montholon	2
General Bonaparte and suite	28
British Officers	2
English Sailors	11
Men of the island	7
Women of the island	1
British Officers' servants	3
	24
	52

The grand total was 52.

After the departure of the *Northumberland* eight soldiers took the place of the eleven sailors. The soldiers were employed as follows: one footman to General Bonaparte, one confectioner's assistant, three stable helpers, one cook to General Bertrand, one servant to General de Montholon, one servant to General Gourgaud.

The men of the island were reduced from seven to five, viz.: Jeremiah Lane, attending General Bonaparte; John Jones, gardener; Frank, attending Count Montholon; James

Scott, attending Count Las Cases; Charles, attending General Gourgaud.

The orderly officer's cook was removed, making a total reduction of six persons; but the total was kept up to fifty-two by the arrival of a Montholon baby, and the engagement of Mrs. Murray as its nurse, the addition to the Bertrand household of Jeannette as cook's assistant, and Mrs. Rush as nurse, and the engagement of two Chinese. There were also a number of Chinese employed variously about the house, or in the garden, or collecting fuel.[1]

There was not enough work for all these people. Excluding the Bertrands (still at Hutt's Gate), the men in the stable, the gardener, the English officers and their servants,—there were, for housework, twelve French, five English, four islanders, and two Chinese, or twenty-three altogether, of whom twenty-one were men; and they had to attend to six men, one lady, and two children, or nine principals. Before the end of 1816 the principals had been reduced by the removal of Piontkowski and the two Las Cases, to a total of three men, one lady, and two children; and the attendants were diminished by the departure of Archambaud the younger, Santini, and Rousseau. There were now twenty attendants for the domestic wants of six persons. Insufficient occupation caused as much quarrelling among the domestics as in the higher quarters.

Las Cases says: "Though attachment to the person of the Emperor had united us around him, yet chance, and not sympathy, had brought us together. Our connection was purely fortuitous, and not the result of any natural affinity. Thus, at Longwood, we were encircled round a centre, but without any cohesion with each other; and a wreck of luxury, or a remnant of ambition, frequently became an object of dispute."

[1] B.M., 20154, pp. 81, 82; 20222, p. 126.

The wages Napoleon paid, quarterly, were as follows :[1]

Las Cases, Montholon, Gourgaud, £80 each	£240
Piontkowski	40
Marchand	50
St. Denis, Noverraz, Cipriani, Pierron, Lepage, £40 each	200
Santini	39
Rousseau	20
Gentilini, the two Archambauds, £17 each	51
Stables	40
Marchand, £40 a month for toilette and cash for the Emperor	120
	£800

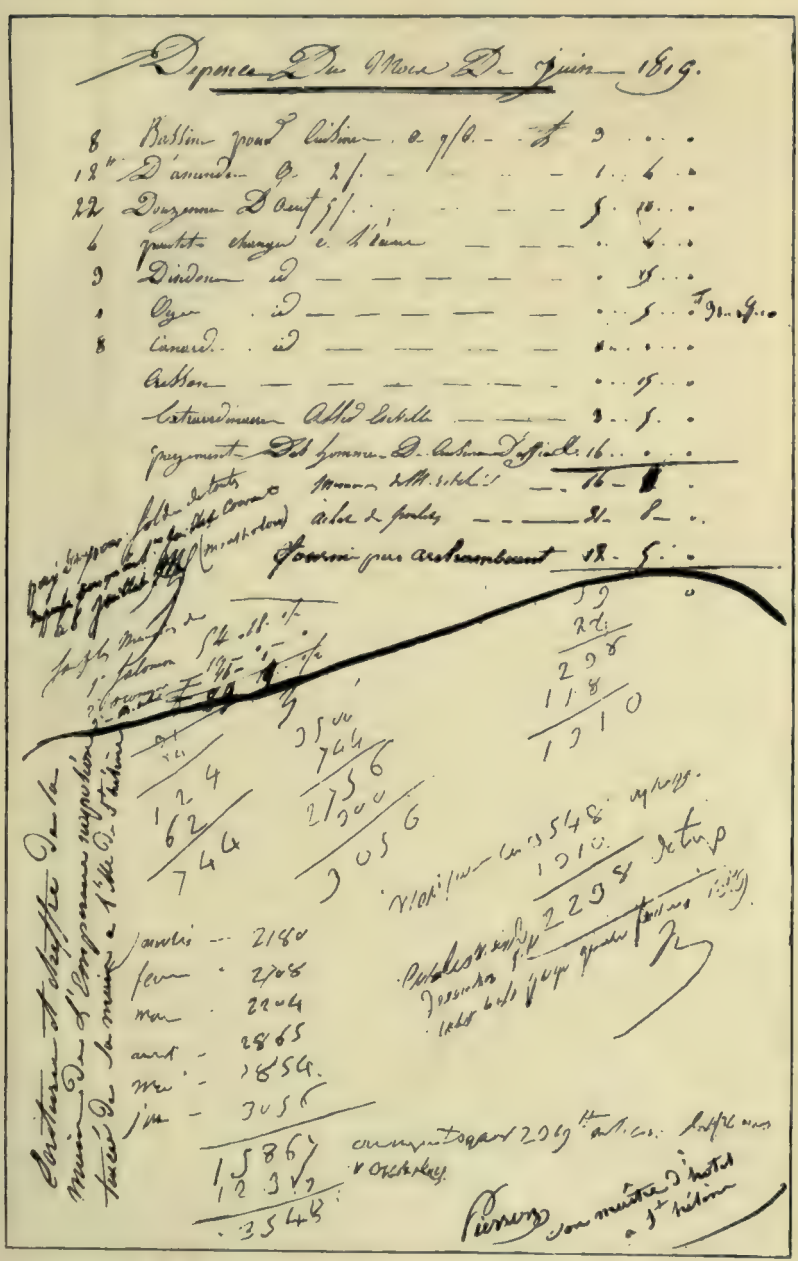
Bertrand was not paid, having resources of his own. He and his wife were able to insist upon a certain measure of independence.

Napoleon had other expenses, for wages to the Chinese, for clothing, for miscellaneous outlays—such as the £245 he paid for the phaeton that was sent from the Cape, and the £122 for the piano from England—and for various articles which were not provided by the British Government. A complete list is to be found in Pierron's account book.[2] It begins in March, 1818, when Pierron took over the duties of Cipriani, and continues to April, 1821.

Pierron's account for the first month, March, 1818, shows the kind of expenditure:

	£	s.	d.
2 Bottles of pickled gherkins	0	10	0
2 „ „ „	1	5	0
A ream of paper	3	10	0
5 Pots of jam	6	10	0
2 Hams	2	18	6
1 Box of artificial flowers	1	5	0
2 Bottles of mustard	0	16	0
6 „ oil	2	5	0
6 „ capers	2	8	0
3 „ mustard	1	4	0
25 lbs. almonds	1	17	6

[1] B.M., 20221, p. 2.
[2] Now in the possession of Mr. A. M. Broadley.



PAGE FROM THE LONGWOOD ACCOUNT-BOOK, KEPT BY PIERRON, WITH NAPOLEON'S CALCULATIONS AND INITIAL

	£	s.	d.
M. Lepage, for "fritur"	2	6	6
Killing a turtle	1	0	0
Pork	2	6	9
Eggs (198 at 5d. each)	4	2	6
Peaches	1	5	6
Potatoes	0	12	6
Fresh roses for the table of His Majesty	0	10	0
To the soldiers who escorted him to the town four times	1	0	0
Citron, cress, and eggs	2	10	0
Chinese	6	0	0
Other items	2	17	0
	£48	17	9

In the next month may be noticed :

	£	s.	d.
Coffee	11	4	0
Vermicelli	3	12	0
Olives	1	10	0
Water-bottles	12	0	0
Plates	0	12	0
A barrel of sugar candy	4	0	0
Cups	1	1	0
Coffee-grinder	0	18	0
Paper	1	4	0
Biscuit	0	15	0
Raisins	0	16	0
Apricots	0	16	0
Citrons and potatoes	1	2	6
Eggs	3	10	0
Fritur	2	5	0
Chinese	6	0	0

The prices for these special things were such as only the rich could afford. There was no suggestion or expectation that the British Government should provide this surplus of luxuries. The British outlay on eggs, for instance, for Longwood, was already £17 per month for seventy dozen eggs.

Napoleon's expenditure through Pierron was at the rate of £600 a year. Adding that to the wages account of £3200, makes £3800 a year.

He drew on two banking firms in London—Messrs. Andrew, Street and Parker, and Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co.—at the rate of £5000 a year till the end of 1819, and then at the rate of £6000 a year. It is not known how the excess over the normal outlay of £3800 was expended. Part of it went secretly to O'Meara, Balcombe, and Stokoe, and the rest was probably employed in other ways to further the Imperial cause, both at St. Helena and in Europe.

To meet this outlay Napoleon had large funds at disposal. Before leaving Malmaison he had deposited with the banking house of Perregaux et Lafitte the sum of £168,000, the interest upon which was more than enough to liquidate his expenses. In addition there was the box of 4000 napoleons which was found on the *Bellerophon*, upon which he drew bills. Las Cases had 4000 louis which he lent to Napoleon. In eight secret belts distributed among his followers on the *Bellerophon* he had £10,000, which never came to the knowledge of the British authorities. Bertrand had £12,615 in 5 per cent Navy Annuities, and a sum of £1500 in his possession.[1] The cash at disposal was thus, on arrival at St. Helena: in the hands of Napoleon, £14,000; with Las Cases, £4000; with Bertrand, £1500; altogether, £19,500. With Napoleon's £168,000 in Paris and Bertrand's £12,615 in England there was no anxiety on the question of finance.

On first arrival at Longwood precise and orderly arrangements were made. Napoleon rose early, and had his cup of coffee. He had always shaved himself. He stood by the side of the large silver basin, between the window and the fire-place; one valet handed the razor, brush, and soap, while another held a mirror from his dressing-case, first to one side and then the other. Then came a thorough washing not only of the face, but often of the entire head, in the silver basin. This was followed by a brisk friction, with a brush, of chest and arms, continued on the back by the valet, who was frequently enjoined to brush harder, as if he were

[1] Masson, "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène," p. 315.

scrubbing an ass. Eau de Cologne was then freely applied; Napoleon grumbled very much when the supply was exhausted and he was obliged to content himself with lavender water. The care of the nails and of the beautiful white hands was never neglected.

In the first days Napoleon went out sometimes as early as 6 a.m. for his morning ride, dressed in a green hunting-coat, with a velvet collar and silver buttons embossed with the figures of animals; the waistcoat and breeches were of white kerseymere, and he wore top-boots, a black cravat, and the three-cornered hat. When not riding he wore shoes with gold buckles, and white silk stockings. There were twelve horses in the stable. The Master of the Horse, General Gourgaud, usually accompanied Napoleon on his rides, and Las Cases was generally invited. Bertrand, Montholon and young Las Cases had their turn also. St. Denis was the groom. The pace was often slow, with much walking, but Napoleon's most characteristic habit was to clap spurs into the horse and drive it at a gallop, especially when there was an upward slope to be negotiated.

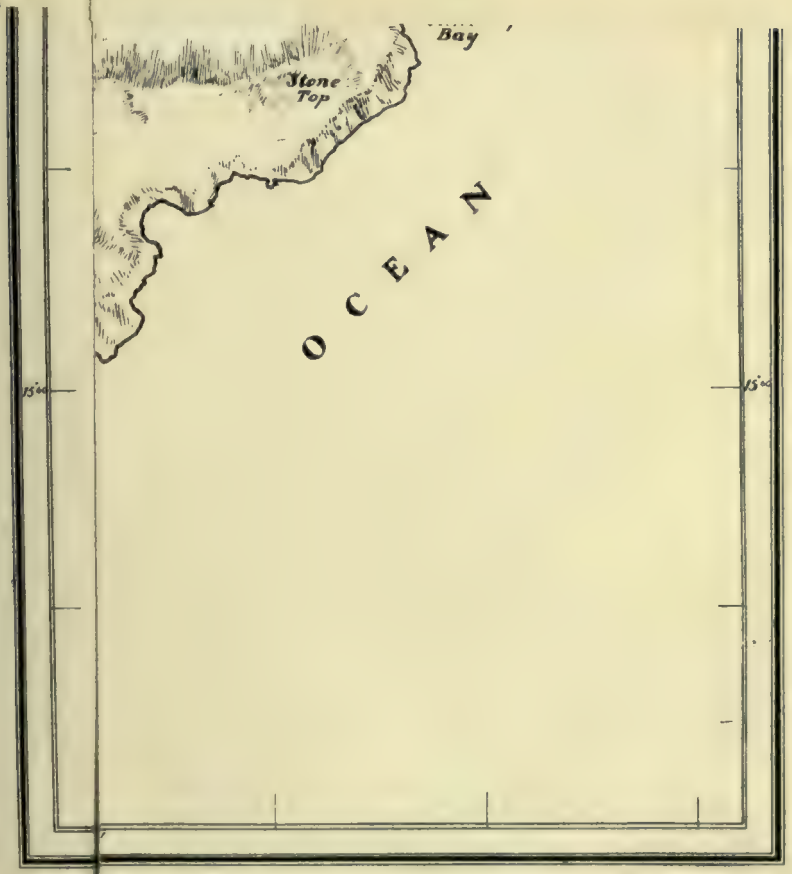
Napoleon had a circuit, in which he might ride unattended, of about twelve miles. The limits were suggested by Colonel Wilks in a written memorandum which he submitted to Sir George Cockburn. He said that it was necessary Napoleon should be seen and his presence reported every day; with that guarantee he might be permitted to roam unattended over the whole of the Longwood-Deadwood Plain and along the road to Hutt's Gate; thence as far as Alarm House to the west and Miss Mason's (now Teutonic Hall) to the south-east. Colonel Wilks added the caution that "there will be no ground of alarm so serious as that which shall result from our national kindness and humanity."[1] The remark was justified, for England had let Napoleon escape from Elba, and no other nation would at St. Helena have treated him so well.

[1] B.M., 20114, p. 249.

Colonel Wilks was a model Governor, adored by the inhabitants, liked and esteemed by the French, who wanted to have him placed in permanent charge over them, instead of the detested Cockburn. But Cockburn gave a much larger space for rides than Wilks had proposed.

The exact area included in the Deadwood-Longwood Plain cannot be defined with certainty, but practically the boundaries were sufficiently marked by two obstacles which could not be passed—precipices and pickets. The line suggested on the accompanying map gives the extreme range on horseback, but Napoleon could have gone further on foot. If he had tried to scramble down the steep paths into Rupert's Valley he would have been stopped, but he might have been allowed to walk up the easy slope to the top of Flagstaff Hill, and even to attack the steep and rocky Barn, without interference, as he could have gone no further owing to the impassable precipices beyond. He could have walked from Longwood or Deadwood down the valley towards the Turk's Cap landing-place, a favourite beach for fishing parties, but at a certain point further progress would have been barred by three pickets, with batteries covering both valley and shore. He would have encountered similar obstacles if he had tried to scramble down to "the Springs," or had shown a desire to make for Prosperous Bay by way of Fisher's Valley.

South of the Longwood Plain, Wilks would have allowed only the road to Hutt's Gate with extensions of about half a mile to right and left, but Cockburn included—more by acquiescence than intention—the whole of Fisher's Valley, and also the small valley at the top of the Punch Bowl, then known as Geranium Valley, now the site of Napoleon's tomb. This gave an ample range for horse exercise unattended, and in the early days Napoleon made some use of it. In his various outings he covered the whole range of his limits, exploring them in every direction. The usual rides were in Fisher's Valley and up the further slope to Miss Mason's, or


Bay
Stone
Top
OCEAN
15°
15°

along the road to Hutt's Gate and thence to Alarm House; in both these directions there were sentries to prevent further exploration. On the other side he wandered towards Mulberry or Sheep Gut, or in the Park, without becoming conscious of any bounds. On two occasions, as will be narrated later, he went outside the limits, accompanied first by Cockburn and then by Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer. His followers took free advantage of the liberty of going to Jamestown, five miles away, for shopping, or to Sandy Bay, equally far, for a picnic, in the company of a British orderly.

After the morning ride Napoleon would take a hot bath in the zinc bath constructed for him by order of Sir George Cockburn. The habit grew so much upon him that he came to spend usually not less than two hours, sometimes as much as four, in the bath, hot water being poured in incessantly to keep up the temperature. He would take his *déjeuner* in the bath, dictate in the bath, and spend hours of the night in it, with a valet always in attendance.

After the bath Napoleon, in his dressing-gown, was served with his *déjeuner* in his sitting-room. Occasionally, as a special mark of favour, he would invite one of his followers to join him over the meal. When he breakfasted in the garden, either in the tent or under the shade of a tree, he generally invited the followers.

In the early days they had their *déjeuner* in the entrance-room, but that arrangement did not last long. The Emperor was needed to preside over their jealousies. Nine separate *déjeuners* were accordingly served in the private apartments. These were for: (1) Napoleon, (2) Bertrand, (3) Montholon, (4) Gourgaud, (5) the two Las Cases, (6) Piontkowski, (7) the British Orderly and Surgeon, (8) the upper servants, (9) the under servants.

O'Meara would often be sent for after *déjeuner*, for conversation, and then the dictation would be given. Napoleon dictated while walking up and down the room, his hands

clasped behind his back, or with one hand in his tail-coat pocket. In his small study he had to be incessantly turning, and he preferred therefore to dictate in the billiard-room. He spoke so fast that it was impossible to keep pace without the use of some kind of shorthand. The ingenious Las Cases had invented a system which enabled him to follow the words with some accuracy, and he always went straight from the Emperor to his own room and dictated at once to his son what he had obtained. All the followers had their share in this dictation. Bertrand, the most unwilling of them all, was given the Egyptian expedition. Montholon worked at general memoirs. Gourgaud's stock subject was the battle of Waterloo. Las Cases had the first Italian campaign. Marchand came in for the wars of Cæsar.

At first Napoleon was but scantily supplied with the necessary works of reference. He brought with him 550 volumes from the Trianon library, and 38 from Malmaison. While on board the *Northumberland* he made a list of books which he desired, which was posted to England from Madeira, but they did not arrive till June, 1816. The British Government expected Napoleon to pay for them, which must be stigmatized as mean. Lowe, in April, 1816, sent up some copies of the "Annual Register," and a number of French books which he had brought in the expectation that Napoleon might find them of service, and they were much appreciated.

The next batch of books came in June, 1817, from Lord and Lady Holland, and the arrivals were thence as follows:[1]

March, 1818: From the British Government, some thirty books.

September, 1818: A box sent by W. Holmes to O'Meara under a false name. O'Meara having gone, the box was opened, and the volumes sent up to Longwood.

12th December, 1818: Lady Holland, and the British Government.

14th July, 1819: Source not indicated.

[1] Gonnard, "Les Origines," pp. 31–8.

20th September, 1819 : Antommarchi.
7th January, 1820 : W. Holmes.
7th July, 1820 : Lady Holland.
30th September, 1820 : British Government.
26th December, 1820 : Lady Holland, two hundred volumes.
28th February, 1821 : Lady Holland.
14th March, 1821 : Lord Bathurst.
16th March, 1821 : Lady Holland.

It is strange how slowly the idea gained ground that Napoleon was in need of books, and more books, though it was known that he had always been a great reader, and that he had time to spare at Longwood.

In the end the library was not ill-furnished. The books belonging to the British Government were sold by auction at Jamestown in March, 1822, to the number of 1847.[1] The greater part of the rest of the library was sold in London by direction of the French bookseller Bossange, by public auction, through Sotheby, on the 23rd July, 1823. Bertrand took a number of books with him to Chateauroux. Some of them were sold in Paris in 1875. Napoleon, by his will, left to his librarian, St. Denis, four hundred volumes, to be chosen by him from among those which the Emperor had himself used ; these books were to be forwarded to the duc de Reichstadt on his attaining the age of sixteen, but Napoleon's son was not allowed to receive them, and they remained the property of St. Denis. Some of them are in the museum at Zens, the town in which St. Denis died.

It was with newspapers as with books, they were at first scantily supplied, and when no untoward effect could be discovered from their influence, the quantity was cautiously increased. Cockburn and Lowe in the early days sent up to Longwood most of what they received, sometimes before they had themselves read the news. " The Times " went regularly from Lowe, and occasional copies of the " Courier "

[1] B.M., 20229.

and "Observer," or of any French paper that might arrive. After July, 1818, the "Morning Chronicle," which abused the Government for its treatment of Napoleon, was nevertheless regularly sent, through Sir Hudson Lowe, to Longwood, and there was thenceforward a sufficient supply of English and French papers and periodicals.[1]

In our own day, under similar circumstances, a large library would have been provided at the outset, with a regular service of new books, and of all papers and magazines that could possibly have been found of interest; but at that time printed matter was still regarded with suspicion, and it was thought dangerous to allow prisoners to have free access to books and papers. England was already in advance of the Continent on this subject. By no other Power would Napoleon, a prisoner, have been given a regular supply of a journal which took his part against his captors.

In the end Napoleon had in his library complete editions of all the prominent French authors, with quantities of works on all subjects, and an ample supply of poetry and fiction.

When a batch of new books arrived Napoleon would spend the day indoors, drinking them in, and would go on reading half through the night. The books would be brought to him in large numbers and piled on the table in the sitting-room, or on the little round table by the sofa before the fire, in the bedroom. Reclining on the sofa he would devour them in turn, throwing each book on the floor as it was done with.

St. Denis made a catalogue, and marked every book sent out. The followers were given the free run of the library. Gourgaud wanted military history, the ladies asked for novels. After the departure of Madame de Montholon St. Denis had to complain to Montholon that he had more than one hundred volumes, which he did not return. "It is true," wrote Montholon to his wife, "but I pay no attention to him."

After the dictation and the reading, Napoleon, in the afternoon, generally went for a drive, one of the ladies, with

[1] Gonnard, pp. 39, 45.

Bertrand or Las Cases, being taken in the carriage. The two Archambauds at first used six horses, afterwards reduced to four, which they drove, as postilions, at a great pace. The round of the wood, done at high speed, was soon covered and the course would then be repeated. Madame de Montholon declared that they went so fast that it was difficult to breathe. At this rate the wood was so often driven round that, in spite of the excitement of dodging the trees, there came a staleness in the sport. In the early days the outing would be varied by a visit to the Bertrands at Hutt's Gate, and all the ladies became much alarmed as the vehicle dashed round the corners, with the terrible precipice on one side. It was, indeed, dangerous, for there were no barriers, and a little carelessness might have sent the whole party down the abyss. There is now in most places a low earth bank, a railing made of gas-pipes, and a plantation of flax at the edge, which at least conceals the danger.

When the Bertrands had moved from Hutt's Gate the drives never went beyond the Longwood estate, which has a circuit of about four miles. This space is the Longwood farm; it is now let by the Government in one indenture of lease to the Longwood farmer, with the old hedge and wall boundaries. No person was allowed to enter the Longwood estate without a written pass, though Napoleon and his followers were at liberty to emerge from it at any time between sunrise and sunset, without interference. They had thus privacy, and liberty, over a considerable area.

Instead of the drive, or after it, Napoleon would walk in the wood or in the garden. The gum trees are not unlike ragged umbrellas, through which sun and rain may filter; dotted about they gave a park-like aspect to the wood. When Napoleon walked there, dressed in his Chasseur's uniform, he was sometimes attended by the greater part of his suite. There would be Bertrand, Gourgaud, and Montholon in brilliant uniforms, and Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon in *grande toilette*. The officers carried their plumed hats in

their hands, and kept a pace or two behind the chief figure. They made a fine spot of moving colour as they marched in solemn grandeur through the trees, now in shade, now in bright sunlight. Towards sunset, a delightful time for walking, the lights and colours are singularly clear and soft.

The more usual promenade was in the garden. Napoleon walked slowly, and stopped frequently to emphasize some point in the conversation, and they all became very weary of these walks, which sometimes lasted for hours. If one of the party hung to the rear and then tried to escape down a side path, the Emperor would be sure to notice it, and turning round would say, with evident signs of annoyance, "Look at Madame de Montholon" (or some other) "running away."

It was in the afternoon that a visitor had his best chance of being received. He had to obtain, first of all, the entry into the Longwood park, with a note from the Governor to enable him to pass the guard at the lodge. Then he applied to the Grand Marshal, who would arrange for a reception, if the Emperor's consent could be obtained. On formal occasions the visitor was received in the billiard-room by the Grand Marshal, or the Controller of the Household, or the Master of the Horse. The usher of the cabinet, Santini or Noverraz, dressed in a green coat with gold collar and cuffs, white waistcoat, black silk breeches, white silk stockings, and buckled shoes, would open the inner door leading to the reception-room, where the Emperor would be found standing, with his hat under his arm. Some of the visitors were introduced by the back door, into the hall outside the dining-room, and thence to the presence. Others, again, were received in the garden.

Napoleon received English visitors at Longwood more than a hundred times in the first two years—about once a week.[1] After October, 1817, he received only twice: in March, 1818,

[1] A list of the visitors has been compiled by Dr. Chaplin: "A St. Helena Who's Who," 1914.

THE GUARD-HOUSE AT THE ENTRANCE TO LONGWOOD

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

the Balcombe family on their departure, and on the 2nd April, 1819, Mr. Ricketts, a cousin of Lord Liverpool. In the last three and a half years he received only on these two occasions, and in the last two years not at all.

Before dinner Napoleon went into the drawing-room for a game of piquet, reversi, or chess. Las Cases says that reversi had been the Emperor's favourite game in his youth. "The recollection was pleasing to him, and he at first thought that he could amuse himself for a length of time at it, but he was soon undeceived. We played at the game and all its varieties, which made it so complex that I have seen from fifteen to eighteen thousand counters in use at once. The Emperor's game was always to make the *reversi*, that is, to make every trick, which is no easy matter. However, he frequently succeeded: character develops itself everywhere and in everything."

Reversi is a game in which great and sudden changes sweep over the board, and Napoleon's proficiency at it is easy to understand. Chess, with its demand for patience, laborious care, was alien to his genius. He was ingenious and enterprising in chess, and always in attack, but too indifferent to the losses he incurred.

During this period before dinner the Emperor expected to be attended by his suite, the men in uniform and the ladies in evening dress. The men were not invited to sit down, whatever their fatigue. Gourgaud on one occasion was kept standing for five hours watching games of chess, until he was seen to turn pale, and had to leave the room to recover. Unlike the simple Bertrand, and the courtier-like Montholon, he would indulge often in victory, when given a chess seat, and as penance had more than his share of standing.

Napoleon kept on his three-cornered hat in the *salon*, to emphasize his privilege. When one of the ladies entered he rose, took off his hat, and offered a seat. On one occasion, Gourgaud, who could never master the Imperial etiquette, was the chess player, favoured with a seat; he rose from his

chair on the entrance of Madame Bertrand. This was to give the lady preference over the Emperor, who told him sharply that his master having been graciously pleased to allow him to sit, he was not to abandon that honour on any pretext.

No person was allowed to leave the room without special permission. If the Emperor deigned to slumber, all had to wait until he awoke, to give them their dismissal. Antommarchi was once smartly censured for having ventured to leave his patient asleep. On waking, Napoleon remembered that the doctor had not waited for his *congé*, and he was sent for and soundly rated for his want of proper respect. It was not permitted to speak to the Emperor without being specially invited to do so, and no general conversation was allowed which might have wandered beyond the Imperial patronage and control.

Dinner, at a nominal eight, was taken at first in the entrance-room, but afterwards the room beyond the *salon* became the dining-room. Napoleon sat in the centre of the table, with his back to the fire. Madame de Montholon was on his right and Las Cases on his left; opposite were young Las Cases facing his father, Gourgaud in the middle, and Montholon on the right. On Sundays Bertrand and his wife were present.

In the first months Napoleon occasionally invited an English visitor to dinner. On the 13th December, 1815, Major Fehrzen, of the 53rd, was kept to dinner; on the 31st December, Colonel and Mrs. Skelton; 2nd January, 1816, Sir George Bingham; 5th January, Sir George Cockburn, Major and Mrs. Hodson, and Major Fehrzen; 7th, Captain Poppleton; 15th, Captain Ross, of the *Northumberland;* 22nd, Colonel Skelton and Captain Devon, of the *Icarus;* 23rd, Captain and Mrs. Younghusband; 8th March, Sir George Cockburn and Surgeon Warden (attending upon Gourgaud); 11th April, Colonel and Mrs. Skelton. There is no record of any invitation after this date. Altogether ten English men and three English ladies were invited to dine with Napoleon

at St. Helena. In January, 1816, there were people to dinner on six occasions; in February, none; in March, one; and in April, one. After January, 1816, the month after his arrival at Longwood, the invitations had practically come to an end.

Except for the honour, there was no pleasure to be derived from an invitation to dine at Longwood. Bingham writes thus of his experience on the 2nd January:

"It was a most superb dinner which lasted only forty minutes, at the end of which we retired into the drawing-room to play cards. The dessert service was Sèvres china, with gold knives, forks, and spoons. The coffee-cups were the most beautiful I ever saw; on each cup was an Egyptian view, and on the saucer a portrait of some Bey or other distinguished character; they cost twenty-five guineas the cup and saucer in France. The dinner was stupid enough; the people who lived with him scarcely spoke out of a whisper; and he was so much engaged in eating that he hardly said a word to any one. He had so filled the room with wax candles that it was as hot as an oven. He said to me after I had entered the drawing-room, 'You are not accustomed to such short dinners.'"[1]

The dinners were even shorter when there was no English guest; twenty minutes usually sufficed for Napoleon, who wasted no time over mastication, and hurried from one course to the next. The followers were not allowed to address him, and as he applied himself to business and not to conversation, they also made the most of the time at their disposal. No wonder the Bertrands preferred to dine in their own home, at their leisure, where they could hear their own voices.

The Imperial etiquette was in full rigour at dinner. Saint Denis and Noverraz stood on each side of the Emperor, to whose wants they applied themselves exclusively. Rousseau had charge of the silver, upon which each course was served. Cipriani arranged the dishes. Gentilini, assisted by the

[1] "Cornhill," January, 1901.

English sailors in the early days, served the followers. The livery worn by Gentilini and the English sailors, was a green coat with gold lace, red waistcoat and breeches, white silk stockings, and buckled shoes.

The dessert was brought in by Pierron, in the large dishes of the famous service of Sèvres porcelain; the plates were of the same service, painted with scenes representing battles and military exploits in Egypt and Europe. The coffee was served in the *salon*. The coffee-pot and sugar-basin were of silver-gilt; the cups and saucers were of the Sèvres porcelain. Sir George Bingham was mistaken in supposing that they had cost twenty-five guineas for each cup and saucer. When a duplicate service was made for the Duchesse de Bassano the cost for ten pieces was 1355 francs (about £5 8s. for each cup and saucer).[1]

At first there were six dinners provided: for, (1) Napoleon, the table was laid for Montholon and his wife, Gourgaud, and the two Las Cases; (2) Bertrand, at Hutt's Gate; (3) Piontkowski, who was excluded from Napoleon's table by the jealousy of the others; (4) the English orderly officer and O'Meara; (5) the upper servants; (6) the under servants. After the departure of Las Cases, Napoleon frequently dined alone in his sitting-room. In the end, to the relief of all, the dinner, like the *déjeuner*, was served in the private apartments.

Lepage, the cook, left Longwood in June, 1818, and was succeeded by Laroche, who was sent up by Lowe on the 11th July, 1818.[2] Laroche left on the 3rd March, 1819,[3] on the ground that his eyes suffered from the fumes of the coal used in the Longwood kitchen. Pierron, assisted by the Chinese, undertook the cooking until the arrival on the 20th September, 1819, of the cook sent by Cardinal Fesch, named Chandelier. Before leaving for St. Helena Chandelier had a consultation in London with Laroche, who advised

[1] "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène," by Frédéric Masson, pp. 271 *et seq.*
[2] B.M., 20123, p. 63.
[3] "Polish Exile," p. 252.

him to take with him a new set of cooking utensils, and a plate of cast iron with which he might be able to get a German stove constructed; and also a machine for making ice (which proved a failure), with sal ammoniac, and resin, and tin for the purpose of being himself able to re-tin his battery.

Chandelier accordingly took to St. Helena a cast-iron plate with which he made the German stove, and as there was only an old French oven, and he could not get enough wood to burn in it, he employed a smith on the island to forge him an iron box for an English oven, and he himself laid the brick masonry. He found this a great improvement, and was able to make in half an hour the little patties which Napoleon liked.

After the death of Napoleon an account of Chandelier's experiences was published. He had little to say that was good of the provisions that were placed at his disposal, but we know that the materials were, as a general rule, of good quality. Chandelier himself approved of the pork. The pigs, "which were of the Chinese race, like those in England, and now in France, were fat and of an excellent flesh; the Emperor liked pork cutlets, black puddings, and sausages." Chandelier also praised the bananas, which he cooked as beignets in rum. The bananas, indeed, are of the very best quality, too good for cooking. He admitted that the "madeira, teneriffe, and constantia" were excellent; but everything else he found bad or inferior. He complained, with justification, that the bread was not good, being made from stale flour; that the truffles and mushrooms had gone stale in the preserve bottles; that the butter was salt and had to be washed in several waters and squeezed before it could be used. But there was little excuse for his objections to the quality of the meat, fish, poultry, and vegetables.

Napoleon's *déjeuner* began with soup—a "potage à l'oseille lié"—soup thickened with sorrel, or a clear soup to

which milk and sugar or eggs had been added; the meat would be a beef-steak, or mutton cutlets, or breasts of mutton grilled, with breadcrumbs, and served with a clear sauce; then a roast fowl, followed sometimes by an entremets of fresh vegetables—haricots or lentils, with oil, were favoured. A glass of chambertin mixed with water was the beverage.

Dinner consisted of soup, *relevé*, two entrées, roast, and two entremets, of which one was a sweet or a pastry, which the Emperor liked very much.

For the *relevé* there was beef, mutton, pork or sucking pig, goose and turkey. Of the entrées one was of butcher's meat, the other of poultry or pastry. The roast was of game, red partridge or pheasant when available.

What the Emperor liked most were: roast game, sauté of game, poulets sautés à la Marengo, à l'italienne, à la provençale without garlic, fricassee of fowl, sometimes with champagne, and poulets à la tartare; then black puddings à la Richelieu, and quenelles de volaille au consommé. He liked especially entrées of friture or pastry, such as vol-au-vent, petites bouchées à la reine, petites timbales de maccaroni à la Milanaise, and in general maccaroni in some form. His taste, in short, was still Italian.

After dinner, and the coffee in the *salon*, if the conversation flagged there would be reading aloud. A tragedy, as a rule, would be selected. Madame de Montholon mentions that favourites were "Cinna," "Le Cid," "La mort de César," "Athalie," "Mithridate," and above all "Zaire," of which all the followers became very weary.[1] Corneille was often Napoleon's choice, or Racine, or Voltaire, but he also enjoyed Molière, or Beaumarchais, and would have Don Quixote, or Gil Blas sometimes, to change from his favourite tragedies.

Napoleon's reading was devoid of expression or emphasis; as he had not an ear for rhythm he would alter and maltreat a verse, and he was careless in the matter of names; Cinna every time he read it was pronounced Sylla. He was in-

[1] "Souvenirs," p. 149.

different to accuracy in such things. He would often stop in his reading and enter upon a discussion of a passage, and expected his circle to join in, with some knowledge of the subject. But it was not always easy to keep awake during the reading. Madame de Montholon on one occasion was roused by the stern remark, "Madame de Montholon, *vous dormez*," and the book was then handed to her to read, as a penance. No sooner was she fairly under way than the Emperor himself was observed to be sleeping, and they had to wait until His Majesty deigned to awake.

Instead of the reading, which was always a tedious method of passing the time, there would be conversation whenever Napoleon felt in the mood for it. It was in the nature of an autobiographical monologue, with personal digressions to one or other of the assembled circle, to keep their interest alive. The Corsican days, and the Bonaparte relations, were very often the subject of the discourse, with domestic details which might be of interest to the ladies. If the talk went on easily till ten o'clock, or later, Napoleon would, on retiring, observe that they had achieved a conquest over Time. Ennui was the great enemy. "Time," he said, "is the only thing of which we have a superfluity." It was a terrible situation for the man who had shown the world what could be done by economy in the handling of that for which he had now no use.

CHAPTER IX

SIR GEORGE COCKBURN'S EXPERIENCE

SAINT HELENA was a strong fortress. Major-General Beatson, a former Governor, described it in a Memorandum dated the 18th July, 1815, from which the following is an extract:[1] "The only accessible landing-places are Jamestown, Rupert's Bay, and Lemon Valley on the north and Sandy Bay on the south: all well fortified with powerful batteries, and cannon also on the cliffs in their vicinity. Naval officers consider that no ships could possibly stand the fire of the defences which protect Jamestown and the whole of the northern coast, and Sandy Bay is equally secure against a naval attack. There are also paths leading down the precipices to the sea, which are frequented by fishermen, but they are so very difficult of access that persons unaccustomed to such frightful roads would find it extremely difficult, if not impracticable, and particularly in the night, to ascend them. All these paths should be attended to and guarded, and they might very easily be defended by rolling stones from the heights.

"Telegraphs are placed upon the principal heights, and so spread that no vessel can approach without being descried at the distance of sixty miles. Signals from these posts are made with flags by day, and lights by night, and in some cases by the firing of guns. Consequently a State prisoner may be permitted to have a greater scope of personal liberty than he could have with safety in any other place. With a frigate and a brig attached to the station for speaking or

[1] "Wellington," Supp. Disp., vol. xi, p. 74.

bringing in any suspicious vessel that may come in sight, it must be evident that any idea of escape from St. Helena would be entirely hopeless.

"The present garrison is about 700 artillery and infantry; with a reinforcement of 500 with 300 volunteers, and the seamen from the warships, a total strength of 2000 would be obtained, which would be sufficient to defend St. Helena against the most powerful attacks by sea or by land."

Captain Dixon, R.E., on the 3rd August, 1815, made a report for the Inspector-General of Fortifications, of which the following is a summary.[1] There were batteries at:

Jamestown and roadstead: 20 guns and some others.

Ladder Hill: 30 or 40 pieces.

High Knoll: a large blockhouse, with 8 guns.

Sampson's Battery, above Munden's Point: 4 guns.

Munden's Fort completely commands the approach to the anchorage off James Valley: 10 or 12 heavy guns. All vessels must heave to and send a boat ashore to get permission to proceed; should this not be done a red-hot shot is the inevitable consequence.

Rupert's Valley: defended by a line of parapet, with 10 to 14 guns.

Buttermilk Point and Battery: 6 or 8 guns.

Prosperous Bay: 5 guns. From the very exposed position, and the tremendous surf constantly breaking on its shores, independent of the confined landing-place, little apprehension can reasonably be entertained for the safety of this part of the coast.

Sandy Bay: Parapet of masonry (9 guns), and batteries at Crown Point (1 gun) on the east, and Horse's Head (4 guns) on the west.

Lemon Valley: parapet, with batteries east and west.

Signal posts: all with alarm guns, generally long 9-pounders.

[1] "Wellington," Supp. Dept., vol. xi, p. 88.

1. Ladder Hill.
2. High Knoll.
3. Plantation House.
4. Cason's Gate (summit of central ridge).
5. Sandy Bay.
6. Man and Horse.
7. High Hill.
8. Cason's Gate.
9. Long Range.
10. Prosperous Bay.
11. Long Wood.
12. Barn Point.
13. Flagstaff Point.
14. Sugar-Loaf Point: to Ladder Hill.

The code of signals arranged by Cockburn with regard to Napoleon, contained the following messages:

General Bonaparte; all is well with respect to him and family.

Is unwell.

Requests permission to

Is not properly attended beyond the cordon of sentries.

Is out, but within the cordon of sentries.

Has been out longer than usual, and is supposed to have passed the sentries not properly attended.

Is missing.

Is returned home.

Is in want of

If the signal "is missing" was made, a blue flag was to be hoisted at every signal station until it had been ascertained that he was no longer missing.[1]

More guns were placed by Sir George Cockburn, and still further defences prepared by Sir Hudson Lowe. The signalling arrangements were improved. The island became a

[1] B.M., 20114, p. 283.

very formidable fortress, in which the State prisoner was most carefully watched. No attempt at rescue could have succeeded, without the support of a powerful naval force prepared to deal with the British warships, batter down the land defences, and put on shore several thousand soldiers.

On the 18th December, 1815, three days after his arrival at Longwood, Napoleon went for his first ride, with Montholon and Gourgaud, in the park. On the 14th Cockburn and Skelton came to enquire how he liked the house, but he declined to see them, alleging indisposition; he let it be known that he would have been pleased to see Skelton but for the presence of Sir George. On the following day, hearing that Bertrand was piqued because the management of the household had been given to Montholon, Napoleon rode to Hutt's Gate and invited the Bertrands to dinner, but they made excuses. Napoleon was prevented by a sentry from riding beyond Hutt's Gate. He ordered Gourgaud to ride round the limits and ascertain their exact extent; it was found that the two roads beyond Hutt's Gate were within them, and due apology was made through Sir George Bingham for the mistake of the sentry.

Next day Napoleon walked with Las Cases to the Company's farm, and then down into Mulberry Gut, where was the Company's garden; he sent for the gardener and asked him many questions. The 18th being a Sunday the Bertrands came to dinner, but as they had declined his invitation on a previous day, Napoleon would not accord the favour of his presence at the meal. On the 19th Napoleon, accompanied by Gourgaud and Les Cases, rode round the outside limits of the Longwood-Deadwood plateau.

The situation of O'Meara was already giving trouble. As Napoleon's physician and also a British officer, he was in two conflicting rôles. Cockburn at first gave orders, on the 16th December, that O'Meara should have power to take Napoleon and his followers outside the limits, but already on the 18th,

he found reason to revoke the permission, being dissatisfied with O'Meara's conduct.

Napoleon ordered Montholon to write a violent letter to the Admiral; when it was presented for his perusal he complained of its mildness, and a corrected draft was sent to Cockburn, on the 21st December.[1]

"To Admiral Sir George Cockburn.

"Longwood, *December* 21, 1815.

"Sir,

"Our condition at Longwood, distressing as it may be, would not draw from us any complaint, and we could bear it with the resignation of martyrs, were it not for the constant want of respect evinced for our rank and our sufferings. If, to the injustice committed by your Government in sending the Emperor Napoleon to St. Helena, in defiance of the rights of nations, and which will excite the indignation of all times and all peoples, they have added that of confining us to the most barren spot on the island, at least we have a right to expect those consolations of which even your Ministers had not dared to deprive us; and yet we find that such intercourse with the inhabitants as was allowed by the instructions you communicated to us is every day more restricted."

The letter goes on, in a rather insolent manner, to detail a number of grievances, and concludes with the following demands:

"(1) That the enclosure be enlarged, and that we may go without constraint to the Governor at Plantation House. (2) That any inhabitants of the island, or any officer of the 53rd Regiment, who should desire to come to Longwood, be allowed to do so freely. (3) That Dr. O'Meara be permitted, as heretofore, to accompany us; the refusal given to him to do so being an insult to him as well as to us.

[1] B.M., 20114, p. 288.

VICE-ADMIRAL THE RT. HONBLE. SIR GEORGE COCKBURN, G.C.B.

Painted by Sir William Beechey, R.A. Engraved by W. Say. Reproduced by the kind permission of Messrs. Maggs Bros.

(4) That we may be allowed to go to town with an English officer, and that the steward or any other of the Emperor's domestics be also allowed to go to town, accompanied by an orderly, whenever it may become necessary for procuring provisions or for the other wants of the house. (5) The establishment of Longwood, which is unwholesome and disagreeable in summer, will be intolerable in winter; and I demand that we may be enabled to fix ourselves in a part of the island where there is verdure, less frightful scenery, and a temperature more healthy and agreeable. I should have repaired in person, Sir, to carry to you these remonstrances and demands, if I had been permitted to go to town, as was the case in the first days after our arrival. I beg you, Sir, to receive the assurances, etc.,

"LE GENERAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON."

To this Sir George replied:

"To General Comte de Montholon.

"ST. HELENA, *December* 22, 1815.

"SIR,

"A letter of yesterday's date which I have received bearing your signature I have read, I assure you, Sir, with equal surprise and concern. With regard to what is therein stated respecting an 'Emperor Napoleon,' I have only to inform you that I have no cognizance of such a person. The very uncalled-for intemperance and indecency of the language which you have permitted yourself to use to me respecting my Government, I should not perhaps, Sir, condescend to notice, did I not think it right to inform you that I shall not in future consider it necessary to answer any letters which I may receive couched in a similar strain of unfounded invective."

He went on to say that his instructions "breathe throughout the same moderation and justice which have hitherto characterized the whole conduct of my Government towards

you, and which (notwithstanding your individual assertion to the contrary) will, I have no doubt, obtain the admiration of future ages, as well as of every unprejudiced person of the present. It is not for me, Sir, to explain the grounds on which I have found fault with Dr. O'Meara or any other British subject on this island." He then went through the complaints, and restated what the regulations were. "The orders given upon your arrival at Longwood have neither been increased nor altered in the slightest degree, excepting only upon the points to which, at your repeated personal solicitation, I so reluctantly consented"; and he went on: "I have now, Sir, followed your letter to its conclusion, though not without the pain natural to a person upon discovering his constant and unremitted exertions likely to fail in any of their principal objects; I trust, however, what I have stated upon the different objects to which you have referred will at least prove sufficiently explicit to prevent any further misconceptions.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"G. COCKBURN."

Montholon afterwards made a semi-apology for this letter; he told Cockburn it was the result of a moment of petulance on the part of Napoleon, that he (Montholon) considered they were very well off at Longwood, but that they wished for the abolition of the regulation which put an officer in their society, whenever they went beyond certain points. Cockburn did not feel justified in making so great a concession. He wrote to Bathurst that as this was incompatible with his instructions, and also, in his opinion, with the future safety of his prisoner, he had firmly resisted the demand.

Cockburn's first regulations prohibited any person, except officers in uniform, and those having business with the camp, from going beyond Hutt's Gate without a written pass, which for the civilians would be issued by the Governor, Col. Wilks, and for officers by Sir George Cockburn him-

self, or Sir George Bingham; and no persons whatever were allowed to go through the lodge gates at Longwood without a pass. At the earnest entreaty of Napoleon, Cockburn now relaxed this rule. In a letter to Bingham he wrote: "An invitation from Comte de Bertrand to any person to come to Longwood may also be considered as a sufficient pass; but it is to be understood that every written document used to pass any person or persons into Longwood premises is to be left with the Guard at the lodge gates." Cockburn had reason to regret this concession and advised Sir Hudson Lowe, his successor, to withdraw it.

On the 24th Sir George escorted the captain of the *Doris*, who had brought seven horses for Napoleon from the Cape, and two ladies, to Longwood—which they found a charming spot—but Napoleon would not receive them. O'Meara had just told him that Cockburn had brought up two letters for him which were full of invectives against him, and that the Admiral hesitated to deliver such disagreeable epistles. On hearing this Napoleon exclaimed, "That is a very gross piece of rudeness," and turned to his followers, enjoining them to renew their complaints. Cockburn invited Gourgaud and the Montholons to dinner on the 26th, but Napoleon ordered them to decline.

Las Cases writes: "At the point at which we have arrived the personal politeness of the Admiral is an additional grievance, and as for those who came with him, since we could not see them without his permission, the Emperor could not permit the honour of being presented to his person to be accorded in that manner; if he was in seclusion that should be made clear; if he was not, he ought to be able to receive whomsoever he pleased without the intervention of anybody." Gourgaud, however, says that the Admiral was very polite and amiable; he was the only one of the exiles who did not persevere with the regulation attitude of hostility.

Cockburn's desire to spare the feelings of Napoleon was

characterized as gross rudeness, his invitations to dinner were not accepted, his "personal politeness" was taken as an "additional grievance." The object was to make it difficult for Cockburn to continue his considerate behaviour, and so to force him into lapses from politeness which would have furnished genuine matter for further complaints. Cockburn on his part had to fight against the natural temptation to treat the exiles as they deserved; and, later on, Sir Hudson Lowe found himself driven into the same trying position.

In the after-dinner conversation this day Napoleon asked Las Cases: "Where do you suppose Madame Las Cases is at this moment?" "Alas, Sire, God knows." "She is at Paris," he continued. "It is nine o'clock, she is at the Opera." "No, Sire, she is too good a wife to be at the play while I am here." "That is the way with husbands," said Napoleon, laughing, "always confident and trusting." Then turning to Gourgaud he made similar remarks about his trust in the affection of his mother and sister. Gourgaud was much hurt, his eyes filling with tears, whereupon Napoleon, looking sideways at him, said, "How unkind it is of me, how barbaric, how tyrannical, to touch such tender chords." It was indeed.

On the 26th December Napoleon, after a ride in the park, received, at his own request, the officers of the 53rd, presented by Sir George Bingham. Walking afterwards with Las Cases in the garden, he enquired how he got on in England, and the *émigré* replied: "The kindness of the English towards us, especially the middle-class, which is always the most characteristic of a people, is beyond all expression, and we owe them a real recognition. It is difficult to enumerate the particular kind actions, the benevolent institutions, charitable measures, which were exercised in our favour." Las Cases had been induced by this experience of English hospitality to tell Napoleon that he would be well received in England.

On the 29th three ships were seen approaching the island in the usual quarter, the south-east. Both Las Cases and

Montholon write of the emotions always caused by the appearance of a ship bringing letters and news from Europe. On hearing that a ship was in sight, they would walk to a spot a short distance to the east of the house, whence, sitting at the foot of a tree, the vessel could be seen sailing towards the island. Napoleon on this day rode to the point, accompanied by Gourgaud and Las Cases, and watched the three ships; then they made a long excursion, plunging down into the depths of Fisher's Valley, where at one place they had to dismount and send the horses by a different path, while they proceeded on foot. They had to wade through marshy soil before reaching the horses, and then they rode up the whole length of the valley, mounting into the road at Hutt's Gate, and thence returning to Longwood at 3 p.m., after a long outing. Napoleon was evidently in good health as he was not fatigued by his exertions.

The ships brought newspapers up to the 16th October, two months after the *Northumberland* had sailed. Bertrand read out the contents to Napoleon, who, amongst other comments, remarked that Louis XVIII ought to have hanged Fouché. Madame Bertrand was expected to dinner, but did not come. She had gone to dine with Cockburn in Jamestown, and to stay the night in the house of Mr. Porteous. This was not known at Longwood, consequently the usual announcement, "His Majesty is served," was not made at the dinner-hour, eight o'clock, it being hoped that Madame would arrive, and that Napoleon would be too much absorbed in the reading of the papers to notice the postponement. Unhappily, when it was near nine, Napoleon asked why dinner had not been announced, and on being told that Madame Bertrand was expected, he lost his temper, shouting, "I am not one to wait for anybody." Dinner passed in a heavy silence; as soon as that painful ordeal was over, Bertrand excused himself and departed, and Napoleon retired to his room.

On the 30th he rode out at 8 a.m. with Las Cases and Gourgaud. Arrived at the farm, where ploughing was in

progress, he dismounted, and himself guided the cattle for one furrow. *Déjeuner* was taken in the garden under a tree, and, as was his custom on such occasions, the followers were invited. He announced that he would distribute among them what he called the " widow's mite." Las Cases, Montholon, and Gourgaud were to have £820 per annum, paid quarterly. The Pole, Piontkowski, arrived this day, and after a long interview with Napoleon, he was accepted as one of the establishment, and given the post of equerry, under Gourgaud, with a salary of £160 per annum.

Gourgaud had to listen to the complaints first of Napoleon, then of Bertrand, with regard to the unpleasantness of the previous evening. Napoleon said: " The Bertrands did the same thing at Elba; they think only of themselves, forgetting what they owe to me; they treat my house as an inn; they should come and dine always or not at all." Bertrand " complained bitterly of the conduct of the Emperor towards him and his wife; he declares that he has long known that His Majesty was an egotist. I try to pacify him by remarking that the Emperor was annoyed that Madame Bertrand should have gone to dine in the town with the Admiral." This was a permanent source of trouble. Napoleon expected the Bertrands, like the rest of his circle, to be at his disposal at all times, to have no life of their own; and the Bertrands, as at Elba, declined to merge their existence in his. Bertrand was in constant attendance himself, but he steadfastly refused to regard himself and his wife as part of Napoleon's household. Friction on this point was constant; it was one of the real trials to which Napoleon had to submit.

Napoleon received Cockburn and made the extraordinary request that the sentries should not be in uniform; this being refused he induced the Admiral to give the order that the officer whose duty it was to accompany the prisoner beyond the limits should not be in uniform, and should remain some thirty or forty paces in the rear.

On the 31st Colonel and Mrs. Skelton called and the

THE BERTRANDS' HOUSE AT HUTT'S GATE

From a drawing by Major Luard

Colonel was invited to join Napoleon in his ride; they went into Fisher's Valley, to the astonishment of Skelton, who declared that in some places it was quite dangerous: when he lived at Longwood he had never thought of venturing down. There are, in fact, steep places, but they cannot be regarded as really dangerous, even on horseback, and on foot there is no difficulty.

On the 1st January, 1816, at 10 a.m. Napoleon received all his followers, with their children, and gave presents to each. He exhorted them to live on good terms together, and invited them all to a *déjeuner en famille*. In the afternoon he rode down into the valley, which he had christened "the valley of silence." On this occasion they came upon a pretty girl, Miss Robinson, daughter of a small farmer, whom they thenceforward spoke of as "the nymph of the valley."

The Admiral returned to Napoleon his six guns, and to the followers their weapons also. Gourgaud had been out shooting several times, with a gun lent him by Poppleton, and had shot, within the limits, a pheasant, two partridges, and eight pigeons.

On the 3rd, Napoleon having announced that he wished to ride to call on Mr. Doveton, who had a pretty estate at Sandy Bay, Sir George Cockburn, with his secretary, Glover, arrived on horseback at Longwood to accompany him. They went by Arno's Vale and Rock Rose Hill, and returned by Plantation House Gate, making a long round.

In the evening Las Cases and Madame Bertrand went to dinner at Plantation in the Governor's carriage drawn by six oxen. The road goes up and down, into and out of one valley after another; four of the oxen were taken out of the shafts for the descents and reharnessed to drag the unwieldy vehicle up the next slope. Gourgaud went on horseback. Las Cases writes: "The Governor had brought together some thirty persons. Manners, expressions, forms, all were European. We spent several hours, which were the only period of oblivious distraction I had experienced since our

departure from France." Las Cases could not long endure the formal Court life of Longwood; though he was the most obsequious of the followers, and obtained more than his fair share of the Imperial conversation, he found it an intense relief to be allowed to join in ordinary society on equal terms.

On the 4th and 5th Napoleon rode into the valley again, and on both occasions encountered the nymph, but she was dressed up to be prepared for the visitors, and they preferred her in the original peasant dress. "Our pretty blossom of the fields now appeared to us," says Las Cases, "nothing more than a very ordinary garden flower."

On the 5th the dinner party at Longwood included Sir George Cockburn, Major and Mrs. Hodson, and Major Fehrzen. When the guests had departed Napoleon declared that he could do what he liked with the Admiral.

On the 6th January, Napoleon having given notice to Poppleton that he intended to ride beyond the limits, that officer followed the party, consisting of Napoleon, Bertrand, and Gourgaud. Poppleton kept well back, about a hundred paces in the rear, whereas a distance of only thirty or forty paces had been promised. When near the ditch at the bottom of the valley "poor Poppleton," says Gourgaud, "finds himself nearer to us, and the Emperor calls to Bertrand, 'He must not come so near.' Bertrand says to Poppleton, 'But, Captain, do you think that we are wanting to escape? You are almost on our backs. His Majesty desires that you should keep at a greater distance.' No sooner have we passed the ditch than His Majesty, being out of sight of Poppleton, exclaims, 'Gourgaud, let us gallop.' We gallop as hard as we can, and take a road that is but little frequented. Poor Poppleton, the dupe of Bertrand, has lost us."

The escapade had been carefully planned by Napoleon, for he at once struck into a path leading to the road by which Cockburn had taken him to Sandy Bay three days before. Poppleton was not present on that occasion, and did not

know the way. Napoleon went by Rock Rose Hill, where the party came across Mrs. Seale at her house; Mr. Seale was not at home. Napoleon did not stop, but went on to the rear of the house to a spot whence, as Gourgaud observes, they "discover the two valleys which lead to the sea"—Deep Valley and Powell's Valley. The seashore was not more than a mile distant. In a contemporary letter Major Hodson wrote that "somewhere in Powell's Valley Napoleon remained a considerable time with Bertrand; it so happened that no guard was at that time stationed there. After his curiosity was satisfied he returned to the house (nobody knows how far he went), ate some cake, and drank wine with Mrs. Seale, and returned home late in the evening, since which he has not ridden accompanied by the English officer."[1]

Having seen what he wanted, Napoleon enjoined upon Bertrand and Gourgaud to tell nobody where they had been.

"Poor Poppleton" galloped about wildly in every direction, and then, having caused the signal to be made, "General Bonaparte is missing," rushed to tell the Admiral, whom he ultimately found at "The Briars," where he had been invited to dinner. Napoleon selected such occasions for his exploring expeditions. At "The Briars" his only walk outside the grounds had been taken in the evening, when most of the officers were at a ball at the Castle. Cockburn received the news calmly. He said, "It is of no importance, there is no danger, but it is a lesson." It was not till 8 p.m. that he received a note from Poppleton announcing the return of Napoleon to Longwood.

This event had important consequences. Napoleon had urgently demanded, and obtained, a relaxation of one of the most important regulations concerned with his surveillance; he then induced the officer in attendance to still further

[1] This letter was first published by Mr. Clement Shorter, in "Napoleon in his Own Defence," 1910.

humour his wishes; and took advantage of these concessions to escape entirely from the officer's sight. He made use of his liberty, according to a preconcerted plan, to inspect a position which he had noticed three days before, when escorted by Cockburn, near the shore, on the south of the island, and not watched by guards. There was a possible landing-place at Powell Bay. It was precisely "at the back of the island" that it was hoped he might escape, by following the plan described in a letter which soon afterwards came into the hands of the Government.

This was the return for Cockburn's concessions. Cockburn had agreed to allow Bertrand to give passes for visits to Longwood; he had extended the limits beyond what Colonel Wilks had considered desirable; he had at Napoleon's request given orders that the orderly officer in attendance should not wear uniform, and should keep thirty or forty paces to the rear on any expeditions outside the limits. Napoleon thereupon boasted that he had "conquered" the Admiral, and galloped away to a remote spot whence he might—had he so desired—have found his way, unperceived, to the beach.

Cockburn was thus forced to go back to the old regulation, by which the orderly was to keep near the person of Napoleon when outside the limits. Napoleon accused Cockburn of bad faith, of making a promise which he did not intend to carry out; and he declared that he would never again go beyond the limits if the officer was to be in close attendance. To this resolution he adhered. His rides were thenceforth confined to the valley, or to the Deadwood camp, or to the Bertrands' at Hutt's Gate. The range was ample for exercise, and Napoleon would very seldom have gone beyond it under any circumstances; but he had the grievance that he desired. He was quite willing to forgo an occasional long outing, in order to obtain a source of complaint.

The escapade of the 6th January, 1816, which occurred less than a month after the move to Longwood, and more

than three months before the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, was one of the turning points in the St. Helena story.

On the 7th January Napoleon went out shooting with Gourgaud, but he saw no game in half an hour, and came away disgusted. "He thinks the partridges will wait for him," writes Gourgaud, who went on and shot nine pigeons.

On the 11th Cockburn went up to Longwood with Bingham and a visitor, Admiral Taylor, but Napoleon would not receive them, pleading indisposition; he was well enough, however, to go for his usual ride. Admiral Taylor told Las Cases he thought the climate delightful, a remark which Las Cases thought was unsympathetic. The climate is delightful, and never more so than in January, but not to persons expatriated against their will. This is typical of the attitude of the French, and of Las Cases more than the rest. "It was not St. Helena," he said in a suppressed passage in his diary, "that was so much at fault, it was the being there." The survivors who came back to St. Helena for the funeral in 1840 were astonished at the smiling aspect of the scenery and the life there. St. Helena, they declared, was changed out of all recognition. They were no longer wearing the dark spectacles of prisoners.

A plan was sent up to Longwood of the new house it was proposed to erect, and a discussion ensued among the French as to the attitude to be adopted. If Napoleon decided to accept the new house and to live in it, he might seem to be acquiescing in a permanent detention on the island; to refuse it would be giving up a superior installation, which would not only be more comfortable than Longwood, but would confer a dignity and consideration not usually accorded to a mere General. It was decided to await events. The house proposed was, in itself, regarded as quite suitable for Napoleon.

On the 12th Napoleon was riding with Las Cases and Gourgaud, and as they were returning from Miss Mason's a sentinel tried to stop them, under the impression that they were beyond the limits. Napoleon and Las Cases galloped

away, but Gourgaud remained behind and was taken by the soldier to the Guard at Hutt's Gate, where the mistake was soon rectified. Until the affair with the sentinel was cleared up, Napoleon naturally would not risk another such encounter. On the 13th, instead of riding in the valley, he drove in the wood and on the plain. He also resumed the dictation, which had been put aside while there had been still some novelty in the new surroundings. In the evening he now usually read aloud, achieving thus a "conquest over time," the most difficult of them all.

On the 14th Bingham came to apologize for the mistake of the sentinel, who was to be court-martialled, but, on the intercession of Napoleon, he consented to pass over the affair. It was a week before Napoleon went out riding again.

There were now more outings in the carriage, round the park, and there was much promenading of the garden and grounds of Longwood. "Our days," says Las Cases, "passed, as may be imagined, in a great and stupid monotony. Ennui, memories, melancholy, were our dangerous enemies; work was our great, our only refuge. The Emperor followed with great regularity his occupations: English had become an important matter. It was nearly a fortnight since he had taken his first lesson, and from that time some hours every day after noon were given to that study, sometimes with a truly admirable ardour, sometimes with a visible disgust, changes which kept me in a state of real anxiety." The English was fitfully continued even during their outings, and Napoleon succeeded ultimately in being able to make out easy passages in an English book, with the aid of a dictionary, but he could never speak the language, as he declined to make any effort at the correct pronunciation.

A ship having arrived from England, Las Cases writes: "Every three or four weeks we received a large packet of newspapers from Europe; they were like a prod which aroused us and excited us very much for several days, when we discussed and appraised the news, and then we fell back

THE GUN ON ALARM HILL, WITH ALARM HOUSE

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

once more, insensibly, into the morass." Gourgaud now begins to enter in his diary the fell word "Ennui," sometimes "Tristesse," and then "Ennui, Ennui": "Grande Ennui."

The sight of a ship always aroused hopes. On one occasion a rumour reached Longwood that there had been a military revolt against Louis XVIII; then when five ships were in sight one of the cruisers began firing, and continued for fifteen shots, and the soldiers in the camp were called to arms. "We can learn nothing definite," writes Montholon, "but our minds are at work, and we spend the day in dreams." Next day came the explanation, one of the ships had failed to answer the cruiser's signal. Napoleon remarked, "We are children, and I who ought to give an example of sense am as much of a baby as the rest." This was an ever-recurring mortification. Well-wishers, English as well as French, plied Napoleon with hopeful reports, rumours of European dissensions, and of his early recall to the scene of his former triumphs. He seems to have almost invariably jumped at the idea, and to have revelled in the talk of the delightful prospect. He could not live without indulging these dreams, however bitter the subsequent disillusion. At times he must have admitted to himself that the case was hopeless, but he would regard such thoughts as temporary weakness, and brace himself, as a true Corsican, to keep up the fight until the end. So we have the harrowing situation, which was repeated throughout the whole sad story, of hearts beating with hope whenever a ship is sighted, of sanguine rumours passed eagerly from one to another, greedily accepted by Napoleon; and then—the cold, hard facts, without a ray of sunshine upon them.

On the 7th February the news arrived of the execution of Murat. Napoleon said it was folly to suppose that with fifty men Murat could have regained his kingdom: if he had himself landed at Cannes with so small a force he would have failed. As for his execution, "Could he be considered a French General? He was so no longer. A King? But he

had never been recognized as such. . . . He should have been made a State prisoner. . . . Ferdinand should not have given the world the spectacle of the judicial execution of a King. It is a great mistake for Kings to accustom people to the idea that a King may be judged by men. The Convention would never have dared to cut off the head of Louis XVI if they had not felt the influence of the precedent of Charles the First."

Napoleon was employing against Murat the arguments which he repudiated in his own case. He was no longer a French general; he had never been recognized as a Sovereign by the British Government. He asserted that Murat should have been made a State prisoner, but that he himself, in the same position, should have been received as an honoured guest, with perhaps a Commissioner as guardian and attendant.

On the 11th, a Sunday, the men not being at work on the additions to the house, Napoleon remarked upon the silence and quiet in which they lived. He told Las Cases he felt as strong as he ever had been, that he did not feel jaded or worn in any way, that he was astonished himself at the small effect upon him of all the late events.

In the late afternoon of the 12th Napoleon took Madame Bertrand, Madame de Montholon, and Las Cases in the carriage and, followed by Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgaud on horseback, drove towards Miss Mason's; the road becoming unfit for the carriage, he got out and went down the valley on foot. Then, in the delightful evening air, by the light of the moon, he walked all the way back to Longwood, making a total on foot of about six miles, which was a long way for him, as he had never in his life walked much. Las Cases says: "La soirée était réellement des plus agréables. La nuit était venue, mais il faisait le plus beau clair de lune possible." Moonlight at St. Helena is certainly most beautiful.

Napoleon remarked, on one of these days, that, after all,

St. Helena was perhaps the best place for their exile. In high latitudes they would have suffered much from cold, and they would have died miserably under the burning heat of any other island of the tropics. "The rock of St. Helena is sterile and wild, no doubt, the climate monotonous and unhealthy, but the temperature, it must be admitted, is mild and agreeable."

Whether from fear of assassins or robbers, or on account of some scandalous incidents, Montholon, without consulting his master, asked Cockburn that the sentries should come closer in round the house in the evening. This being accordingly done, Napoleon complained that they would want to come into the house itself, whereupon Montholon observed that it was done by the Admiral's orders, without any request having been made to him. Napoleon continued to express great indignation. When he learned that Montholon had deceived him, he "broke out," says O'Meara, in a letter to Finlaison, "into several invectives against Montholon, whom he called a coglione, imbecile, etc., and only fit to go into the kitchen and look after the pots; adding that he had worse blood in his veins than the black fellow he had sent off —alluding to a negro he had discharged for caterwauling." . . . "This has in a great manner opened his eyes to Montholon, as he scarcely spoke to him for several days: and on one occasion, when Montholon was going into the town for some business, Napoleon said to him, 'Now, Montholon, do not bring back any lies as news, as Madame Bertrand is going to town to-morrow and I will then hear the truth.' The people he is surrounded by at present," adds O'Meara, "give me some faint idea of what the Court of St. Cloud must have been during his omnipotent sway. Everything even here is disguised and mutilated in the representation to him, particularly by Montholon."

Napoleon, however, much preferred the lies of Montholon to the candour of Gourgaud, as he plainly told the latter. He was annoyed on this occasion because Montholon had not

only brought the sentries nearer the house, but had put Napoleon in the wrong when he complained. When Cockburn was informed of the mistake, he ordered the sentries back to their former positions.

Napoleon went for some long rides in February. On the 18th he was on horseback from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m.; on the 19th, from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m.; he was enjoying the delightfully fresh, warm, and soft air of the February mornings. He received on the 19th, by some clandestine means, a letter which encouraged him in the belief that his position would be improved when Princess Charlotte became Queen. On the 23rd a large turtle from Ascension was sent up to Longwood, the first any of the party had ever seen. On the 24th the Balcombe girls came, and annoyed the followers by their free-and-easy ways; they ran wild about the house, ransacking everything.

On the 2nd March the China fleet arrived, always a great event at St. Helena. It had been the custom to make a stay of a week or two, but Cockburn would not allow more than two vessels at a time to approach Jamestown, and gave each pair of ships only two days in which to transact all their business. The captains, officers, and passengers came in numbers to Longwood in the hope of getting a glimpse of Napoleon. "One of them," writes Las Cases, "said that it would be the great pride of his life to have seen Napoleon; another, that he would not dare return to his wife in England if he could not tell her that he had been so fortunate as to recognize his features; a third, that he would give all the profit of his voyage for a single glimpse." Napoleon was so good-natured as to gratify one party, on the 6th March, with not only a glimpse, but an introduction and some conversation. The visitors went away delighted.

Napoleon was in good health and spirits at this time, riding early in the morning, driving in the afternoon, walking about the grounds at sunset, dictating his memoirs, and learning English. He played a little trick upon his teacher,

Las Cases, who writes: "Just before dinner I went, according to my custom, to the *salon;* the Emperor was there, playing a game of chess with the Grand Marshal. The valet in attendance at the door of the *salon* brought me a letter, which had on the outside, 'très pressé.' Out of respect for the Emperor I turned away in order to read it; it was in English; it said that I had written a very good book,[1] which was not, however, free from faults; that if I would correct them in a new edition no doubt the work would be much improved; 'et, sur ce, l'on priait Dieu qu'il m'eut en sa digne et sainte garde.' Such a letter excited my surprise, even my anger, a flush mounted on my cheek; so much so that I had not yet stopped to examine the writing. Looking over it again I recognized the hand, in spite of the unusual beauty of the writing, and I could not help laughing a good deal, aside. But the Emperor, who was looking sideways at me, asked me what letter had been given me. I replied that it was a letter which had occasioned me at first reading a sentiment very different from that which now remained. I said it so naturally, and the hoax had been so successful that he laughed until the tears came." The early period at St. Helena was by no means all sombre tragedy.

Gourgaud was attacked by dysentery; on the 8th March his condition had become serious, and by the middle of the month there were fears for his life. Cockburn came to Longwood to enquire, and he sent up his surgeon, Warden, who stayed the night. They dined with Napoleon, who, with singular bad taste, took the opportunity of expatiating at length upon the injuries inflicted upon mankind by doctors, who killed many people who would otherwise have lived, and on balance did more harm than good. Gourgaud made a complete recovery, and was once more going about, in the beginning of April.

On the 13th March Bertrand wrote to Cockburn, asking whether he would undertake to have a sealed letter from the

[1] The Atlas.

Emperor, delivered, unopened, to the Prince Regent. Cockburn replied: "As I have already had the honour to remark to you, in my letter of the 6th November last, I have no knowledge of the person designated by you, there being no person on this island I can consider entitled to such dignity, Kings being actually at the head of our respective countries, and there being more than one nation in Europe, and elsewhere, ruled by acknowledged Emperors. I enclose, however, for your guidance, and for that of any of the other distinguished foreigners similarly situated with yourself, extracts of my instructions, with regard to the correspondence permitted to you, from which I do not consider myself authorized to swerve." They were that, "Any letters addressed to General Bonaparte or his attendants must be first delivered to the Admiral, or to the Governor, as the case may be, who will read them before they are delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed. All letters written by the General or his attendants must be subject to the same regulation." Cockburn pointed out that if complaints were sent to England in sealed letters, they would have to be sent back to St. Helena for his report upon them, and then be returned to England, which would cause a useless delay of several months; and he concluded: "I now deem it right, to beg of you to be assured that nothing yourself nor any of the foreign gentlemen similarly situated may think proper to write concerning me can, in the slightest degree, affect the line of conduct towards you I consider to be called for from me by the tenor of my instructions, or the consideration and respect towards you which I consider to be called for by your present situation."

Speaking to O'Meara, who recorded the conversation in a letter to Finlaison, Napoleon said, "Was the Admiral to heap every kind of benefit on me, the manner in which he does it would make me conceive each and every one an insult. Let them at least not treat me with contempt, even if they give me nothing. Let them refuse me everything,

THE HOUSE AT HUTT'S GATE OCCUPIED BY THE BERTRAND FAMILY

From a photograph by Graham Balfour

but do it in a polite manner. Tell him that it is not generous to insult the unfortunate. Who is the Admiral? I never heard his name mentioned as conquering in a battle, either singly or in general action. 'Tis true he has rendered his name infamous in America, which I heard of, and he will now render it so here on this detestable rock. Next to your Government exiling me here, the worst thing they could have done, and the most insufferable to my feelings, is sending me with such a man as him. I will make my treatment known to all Europe. It will be a reflection and a stain to his posterity for centuries. I expect nothing less from your Government than that they will send me out an executioner to despatch me. They send me here to a horrible rock where even the water is not good; they send out a sailor with me who does not know how to treat a man like me, and who puts me a camp under my nose, so that I cannot put my head out without seeing my jailors. Here we are treated like felons; a proclamation issued for nobody to come near us or touch us, as if we were so many lepers, or had the itch."

As soon as Gourgaud was convalescent, he became once more the medium employed by Napoleon and by Bertrand for a renewal of the conflict between them. Napoleon had made several attempts to induce Bertrand to live at Longwood while his new house was building, but without effect. Since the former quarrel the Bertrands were dining regularly at Longwood. On the 4th April Madame did not appear; she had gone, as on the previous occasion, to Jamestown, to dine with Cockburn and sleep in the Porteous house. On the 5th Gourgaud, during the morning ride, at 7 a.m., had to listen to the complaints of Napoleon, who said that the Bertrands used his house like a hotel. Bertrand, when this was reported, told Gourgaud that Madame Bertrand was too much fatigued by the excursion to Jamestown to be able to dine that evening at Longwood. Napoleon therefore dined in his room, Gourgaud in his, and the Bertrands at their house at Hutt's Gate.

Next day, the 6th April, Napoleon sent for Gourgaud, and gave him a message for Bertrand: Madame did wrong in going so often to the Admiral's; not to dine at Longwood was to show him disrespect; he had been accustomed to find people glad to be near him; he could not live as a private person, and was much more sensitive to any lack of respect shown him at Longwood than he would have been in Paris. "I know I am fallen: but to learn it from one of my followers! Man is liable to be exacting, touchy, I know it; but when sometimes I say that to myself, the question comes: Would such conduct have been possible at the Tuileries? That is always my sure test." Bertrand's answer was that if his wife did not go sometimes to the town he would himself insist upon her doing so, that she should have some distractions; it was his intention to remain as long as possible at St. Helena, and he declined to reduce a young woman to despair from boredom. Until the Emperor's bad humour had passed, he and his wife would dine at home. His Majesty was the victim of intrigues; Longwood was made terrible by all these bickerings.

One's sympathies must be with the Bertrands. It was selfish of Napoleon to expect that Madame Bertrand should never dine anywhere except at Longwood.

Bertrand was in attendance in the afternoon of this day, and Napoleon kept him to a game of chess before dinner, hoping, no doubt, that he would stay, but when dinner was announced, and Napoleon rose to go into the dining-room, Bertrand went out by the other door, and dined at his own house. The Longwood dinner was gloomy; Napoleon ate hardly anything, and rose from the table in fifteen minutes. Gourgaud, with the appetite of a convalescent, was left so hungry that he had to beg for some food to be taken to his room.

Napoleon had a long talk with Bertrand, whom he tried to bend to his will, but he failed; and he thereupon told the other followers that Bertrand considered him a fallen man:

"At Paris he would not have behaved in this way." Finally, Bertrand asked Gourgaud to remark to His Majesty that he and his wife would be glad of an invitation to dinner, on Easter Sunday. Napoleon sent the invitation. The Bertrands came. Madame gave herself the airs of the victor; "she adopts an offended manner at the entry of the Emperor," writes Gourgaud. The evening was not agreeable. Napoleon retired early to his room.

On the same day that the Bertrands triumphed over Napoleon, the 14th April, 1816, the new Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, arrived.

CHAPTER X

SIR HUDSON LOWE AND STAFF

SIR HUDSON LOWE, like Wellington, Castlereagh, Lannes, Soult, and Ney, was born in the same year as Napoleon, 1769, on the 28th July. He belonged to an old Lincolnshire family. His father, John Hudson Lowe, took a medical degree at St. Andrews, and went as a medical officer with the British troops to Germany during the Seven Years' War. Then he was appointed to the 50th Regiment, and went with it to the West Indies, to the North American Colonies, to Salisbury, and to Gibraltar, where, in 1801, he died. He married a Miss Morgan, of Galway, Ireland, and at that town Sir Hudson Lowe was born.

The child was taken by his parents, with the regiment, to the island of St. Vincent, in the West Indies, and there at a very early age, he lost his mother and an only sister. When the regiment had returned to Salisbury he was sent to the grammar school of the town. While still at school, before he had attained his twelfth year, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Hinton, Lord-Lieutenant of the county, an Ensign in the East Devon Militia; and he appeared at a review in uniform at that early age.

In 1787, aged eighteen, he obtained an Ensigncy in his father's regiment, the 50th, and joined it at Gibraltar. In a fragment of autobiography, he has related a Gibraltar incident which is of great significance for the understanding of his character. He says: "I was once proceeding with the escort in order to reach the barrier-gate by daybreak, and was moving with

my head down, to stem, as well as I was able, the tremendous gusts of rain and wind which opposed me, when I heard myself very sharply spoken to by a mounted officer, who desired me to hold up my head, and look what I was about, as it was not a mere matter of form I was ordered on that duty. This officer was General O'Hara (the Commandant at Gibraltar), who was on such occasions always the foremost to observe that the public duty was rightly performed. This was the only real rebuke I ever experienced from a superior officer during the whole course of my military life. I admitted its point as well as its justice, and am proud to believe the beneficial effect was not wholly lost upon me. I might cite instances of praise bestowed upon my conduct by the same distinguished officer and even of services he afterwards rendered me; but I relate only the above, because conveying what appears to me a really useful lesson."

Lowe's chief characteristic is revealed in the above passage. He remembers having once in his life, when a mere lad, tried to shelter himself from wind and rain, and being called to the public duty by his superior officer—a really useful lesson, he says. He never forgot it, and never again did he bend to any blasts, however furious, to screen himself.

While at Gibraltar he studied French, Italian, and Spanish, and he took the opportunity of his first absence on leave, in 1792, aged twenty-three, to travel to Italy. He spent three months at Pisa learning the language, and he also visited Rome and Naples. He was already marked as an enterprising, studious, and ambitious young officer. His knowledge of Italian was afterwards to prove of great service to him.

In 1794 Lowe went with his regiment to Ajaccio, Corsica, where he was appointed A.D.C. to Colonel Wauchope, the Governor. In 1796 Corsica was evacuated by the British troops, owing to the victories in Italy of General Bonaparte.

The 50th went to Portoferraio, Elba, and there Lowe, now a captain, acted as Deputy Judge Advocate. A singular

fate had taken him first to Ajaccio, and thence to Portoferraio, both so closely associated with the career of Napoleon. The next move was to Lisbon, and Lowe utilized the opportunity to learn Portuguese. Then the regiment went to Minorca. A number of Corsicans, discontented with the French control of their island, had gone there to be under the British jurisdiction. Admiration of England and hatred of France had long been the prevalent sentiment in Corsica. Sir Charles Stuart, who was in command at Minorca, organized these Corsican emigrants into a corps which he called the Corsican Rangers, and he gave the command to Captain Lowe, of whom he wrote at the time, "I know him to be a young man of honour, information, and merit."

Lowe took the Corsican Rangers to Egypt with the force under Sir Ralph Abercromby. He was present at the battle of Alexandria, 21st March, 1801, when he and his small corps distinguished themselves. General Moore (afterwards the famous Sir John) passed upon him the following high and pointed praise: "Lowe," he said, "when you are at the outposts I always feel sure of a good night's rest." Sir Robert Wilson, in his "History of the British Expedition to Egypt," wrote of the Corsican Rangers: "This corps in every action, and especially in the landing, distinguished itself particularly, and Major Lowe, who commanded it, gained always the highest approbation."

At the peace of Amiens the corps was disbanded, and Major Lowe was appointed to the 7th Fusiliers. Sir John Moore wrote to him:

"My Dear Lowe,

"I congratulate you most sincerely on your appointment to the Fusiliers. It is nothing more than you deserve; and if I have been at all instrumental in bringing it about I shall think the better of myself for it. I hope before we leave that the Fusiliers will be at home, and in a way to be actively employed. I trust you will always consider me as

a person warmly interested in your welfare, and that you will let me hear from you occasionally; and if duty or pleasure brings you near me, now or hereafter, you may depend upon the best reception I can give.

"Believe me, very sincerely and faithfully,

"JOHN MOORE."

On the renewal of the war Major Lowe was sent, in July, 1803, on a secret mission of the first importance, to ascertain the state of the Portuguese frontier, whether it could be held by a force of British and Portuguese troops. His report was favourable, and thus led to the Peninsular Campaign. He had earned this commission by his character for zeal and ability, and by his industry in learning the Portuguese language; and, as was invariably the case, he had justified the confidence placed in him. Sir John Moore wrote to him about this time:

"I have known you a long time, and I am confident your conduct, in whatever situation you are placed, will be such as to do honour to those who have recommended you."

On the completion of this investigation and report, Lowe was employed to raise again the Royal Corsican Rangers, of which he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel on the 31st December, 1803. The corps took part in the expedition to Naples under Sir James Craig, and in 1806 was placed in garrison at Capri, together with a Maltese regiment, under Lowe, who was Governor of the island.

While at Capri, so near to Naples, it was one of Lowe's duties to obtain information from the Continent on all military and political movements, and to forward his news to the Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, and the foreign ministers in Sardinia and Sicily. For this purpose he had to employ, as spies, men of doubtful reputation, who were capable of taking the pay of both sides. One of them was a man called Suzzarelli, with whom became associated

Franceschi, afterwards called Cipriani, who acted as *maître d'hôtel* to Napoleon at Longwood. Cipriani told Napoleon that he and Suzzarelli had completely deceived Lowe, which appears to have been a mere boast, for Lowe's reports proved to be of great value.

In October, 1808, the island of Capri was attacked by a French force of some 3000 men, supported by a 44-gun frigate, a corvette carrying 22 guns, and 30 gunboats. Lowe's force consisted of about 1400 men, Maltese and Corsicans. The Maltese held Ana Capri, and the Corsicans Capri. The French made for the landing-place below Capri; being repulsed there by the Corsicans, they went round to the west and attacked Ana Capri. The Maltese, though supported by some companies of Corsicans sent to their assistance, gave way, and allowed themselves to be made prisoners, in the most pusillanimous manner, while the Corsicans made good their retreat to Capri. Lowe's force was now reduced to about 800 men, against nearly four times their number. General Lamarque sent Colonel Lowe a summons to surrender: "I hold a commanding position, and as soon as my artillery shall be placed I will destroy Capri, and there will be no longer time to negotiate. At this moment I may treat you with less severity." The reply of Lowe was characteristic: "I acknowledge all the advantages which your present commanding positions afford you. Defence may therefore be more difficult, but it is not the less incumbent on me. Your propositions of rigour or favour on such an occasion must be alike indifferent to an officer whose conduct will never be influenced by any other considerations than those of his duty."

The town of Capri was thereupon closely invested and battered with artillery until the place was no longer tenable. Lowe held out for thirteen days, and when he finally had to come to terms, he was able to insist that he should be allowed to march out with his troops, and all the honours of war.

The conduct of Colonel Lowe in the defence of Capri has been, with so much else connected with the history of that gallant officer, shamefully misrepresented.[1] His conduct obtained from his superiors the warmest praise. Major-General Lord Forbes wrote to him: "I am convinced that General Sir John Stuart will take an early opportunity of expressing to you, as well as to the public, the sense he entertains of the unremitting zeal, ability, and judgment which your conduct has displayed under your late trying circumstances at Capri; and I have only to lament that your exertions, and those of the brave officers and men who supported you, have not been as successful as they are honourable to you and to them." Sir John Stuart wrote to Lowe an official letter in which he said: "I am happy to express my perfect satisfaction at your own able, gallant, and judicious conduct. The honourable terms of convention which you finally obtained test the firmness of your resistance." In a private letter he wrote: "I feel the firmest conviction of your having done everything that the post of Capri, which you so bravely defended, admitted of."

Brigadier-General Lumley, with whose force the Corsican Rangers were now brigaded, issued a Brigade Order highly eulogistic of the corps and its commander, in which he spoke of "the determined defence made by Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe and the corps under his command, and the honourable convention entered into with the enemy when obliged to cede the island of Capri to a greatly superior force." Major-General Campbell wrote to Lowe an appreciation of his "judicious, gallant, and creditable" conduct against "a very superior enemy." Colonel Bunbury (afterwards Sir Henry Bunbury, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) wrote to him of "a resistance to such superior force, and under

[1] Lord Rosebery cannot be excused for the following remark: "Nor was it any advantage to him to have been driven from Capri by General Lamarque with, it was alleged, an inferior force." It is this ready acceptance of all that anybody may have "alleged" against the British representatives, that makes one ashamed of so much of the St. Helena literature.

such discouraging circumstances, as must do you the highest honour."

There was no suggestion at the time that Lowe's conduct had been other than highly creditable to himself and the British Army, and his career was not injuriously affected by the disaster—in itself a signal proof of his gallantry. The attack upon him, the attempt to enlarge his resources and diminish those of his opponents, was retrospective, it was an emanation from the foul gases of O'Meara and Las Cases.

In 1809 the Corsican Rangers, under their Colonel, assisted in the capture of the islands of Ithaca, Zante, and Cephalonia, and General Oswald appointed Lowe, Governor of Cephalonia, "certain that so delicate a trust could not be reposed in more able hands."

In 1811 General Oswald, who was leaving for England, issued a circular letter in which he said he was confident that "it would be most grateful to the Government and population of Cephalonia and Ithaca to know that they would still enjoy the benefits arriving from the civil administration of an officer who had shown himself the common father of all ranks and classes of their communities." When Lowe left in February, 1812, he was presented by the inhabitants with an address of thanks and a gold sabre.

Lowe had proved himself an officer of zeal and ability, devoted to the public service, an industrious student of languages, and as his report on the Portuguese frontier showed, an intelligent observer of military conditions. He was also a man who made many warm friends among his brother officers, and as a civil administrator endeared himself to the population under his charge.

He was now to take part in great events. In January, 1813, he was sent for by Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War, and ordered to inspect a corps in the north of Europe to be called the Prussian-German Legion, which was being raised by the Czar from Germans who had left the French Army during the Russian campaign. A British subsidy was

to be given for this Legion, but before the money was paid, it was necessary to ascertain the condition of the troops.

On his journey Lowe was introduced, at Stockholm, to the King and Queen of Sweden, and Bernadotte, the Crown Prince, and he also met Madame de Staël. At Kalisch, in Poland, he had a private audience with the Czar Alexander, who thenceforward retained a high opinion of him. Lowe was present at the battles of Bautzen, May 20 and 21, when he saw Napoleon for the first time. He was next employed to inspect the German troops in British pay, amounting to 20,000 men. In October he was attached to the army under General Blücher, and was present at the battle of Leipsic. He was with Blücher throughout the campaign of 1814, and was present at eight battles then, with five in the previous autumn, making thirteen in all, in eleven of them Napoleon himself being in command of the enemy.

As the only British officer of rank with Blücher's force, Lowe held an important position, and by his spirit and determination he exerted a very important influence upon the conduct of affairs. He sent able reports to Sir Charles Stewart—twenty were published in the London "Gazette"—and he urged with insistence the advance upon Paris. Sir Charles Stewart was not so eager. He wrote to Lowe from Troyes, February 13th: "I have received with much satisfaction your several reports up to the 12th from your bivouac at La Bérgère. My brother (Lord Castlereagh) is much pleased with the clear and detailed manner in which you have kept us informed. I think you are rather hot for Paris, since we have seen so little spirit among the people." Lowe, however, continued to advocate the forward movement, and must be accorded much of the credit for the success which followed. General Gneisenau wrote to him later in the year: "It is with the greatest satisfaction, my very dear and very honoured General, that I have received your letter of the 15th September, which tells me that you have still preserved the remembrance of a man who is infinitely

attached to you, and who in the course of a memorable campaign, if there ever was one, has learnt to appreciate your rare military talents, your profound judgment on the great operations of war, and your imperturbable sang-froid in the day of battle. These rare qualities and your honourable character will link me to you eternally. You may always pride yourself, General, on having belonged to the small number of those who opposed to timid councils a firmness not to be shaken by the reverses we sustained; and you never departed from the conviction that to bring Europe back to a just and equitable equilibrium, and to overthrow the government of Imperial Jacobinism, its capital should be seized."

As a fitting reward for the intrepid and clear-sighted advice which had contributed so much to the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire, Lowe was permitted to take the news of the Emperor's abdication to England. It was a dangerous journey that he undertook, accompanied by one Cossack orderly, through the disturbed country from Paris to Calais. He travelled with extraordinary speed, giving himself no rest, and arrived in London in two days, on the 9th April, 1814. He was knighted by the Prince Regent, promoted to Major-General, and received from the King of Prussia the Order of Military Merit, and from the Emperor of Russia the Order of Saint George, accompanied by very complimentary letters.

In the summer of 1814, Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe was appointed Quartermaster-General to the British troops under the command of the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands. Among his suggestions for the defence of the frontier against a French invasion was one for "the construction of a work at Mont Jean" (Waterloo), "being the commanding point at the junction of the two principal *chaussées* leading direct from the French frontier on the side of Charleroi and Namur to Brussels, and the line of direction in which an enemy must then move." The proposal came to nothing,

but Sir Hudson Lowe had a great part in the final defeat of the Emperor in the following year. When Napoleon landed from Elba, in March, 1815, Lowe urged the Prussians to move towards the British, for co-operation in the defence of Belgium. In spite of the opposition of General Müffling, General Kleist, and others, his advice was followed, but then Napoleon succeeded in gaining over to his side the King of Holland, by the offer of a kingdom in Germany. The King ordered the Prince of Orange to make the Prussians move back again, and the Prince told Lowe to communicate with General Müffling accordingly. He absolutely declined, though repeatedly pressed by the Prince of Orange. Thus when the Duke of Wellington arrived, he found the Prussians still in a position to co-operate with the British force. "The important part," says Dr. Holland Rose, "which Sir Hudson Lowe played in determining the general character of the campaign has been almost entirely forgotten."[1]

Lowe's military acumen and judgment had thus been exhibited on four remarkable occasions: when he reported in favour of the defence of Portugal; when he urged, and insisted, and urged again the advance upon Paris in 1814; when he proposed, in 1814, to make entrenchments at Waterloo; and when, in 1815, he contrived to induce the Prussians to move in towards the British troops, and flatly declined to transmit the order to send them back to their original positions. The most distinguished soldiers of the day would have been proud of having given such proofs of military perception.

On the 6th April Lowe received another letter from Gneisenau: "I salute you, dear and worthy General, our companion in labour, in misfortune, and in glory, in whom, amidst all vicissitudes of fortune, I have recognized an imperturbable character and a profound judgment, and always known of a counsel opposed to that of pusillanimity

[1] "English Historical Review," July, 1901, "Sir Hudson Lowe and the Beginnings of the Campaign of 1815."

and feeble minds." He concluded with the remark that the Duke of Wellington "may count on the co-operation of the Prussian army in all that he judges useful to our cause." Sir Hudson was at this time Quartermaster-General to the Duke of Wellington in Flanders, but in May he was offered and accepted the command of the British troops at Genoa.

If he had remained with Wellington it is probable that the Prussians would have arrived on the field of Waterloo earlier than they did; in that case Napoleon would have been forced to retreat, or to sue for terms, to save his army from annihilation. For Gneisenau distrusted Wellington, and delayed the Prussian movement, whereas he had complete confidence in Sir Hudson Lowe. If the perfect accord between Wellington and Blücher had been strengthened by the similar friendship between Lowe and Gneisenau, the two armies would have acted as one.

On his way to the south, Lowe met his old acquaintance, Field-Marshal Blücher, at Heidelberg, and there he also had a private audience with the Czar. Alexander said to Lowe that "oceans of blood might be again spilt, but that, whilst that man (Buonaparte) lived, there would be no hope of repose in Europe; that armies must be kept up by every nation on a war footing, and that, in such case, it was better to be at war, and perhaps, in the end, much less expensive."

Lowe was at Genoa on the 17th June, but Lord Exmouth's ships did not arrive there to embark the troops till the 2nd July, when there was but little left to be done. Marseilles was occupied without opposition, and Toulon received a British garrison. Lord Exmouth wrote to Lowe: "You have, my dear Sir Hudson, my entire esteem and regard, and I am sensible, had opportunity been afforded us for more brilliant services, that we should have woven our confidence into the most perfect and lasting friendship. . . . I have never heretofore met a man with whom I could more

cordially and pleasantly make war." [1] His comrades in arms always wrote to Lowe in terms of warm personal affection.

On the 1st August, while at Marseilles, Sir Hudson Lowe received the unexpected news of his appointment as Governor of St. Helena during the detention of Napoleon. Passing through Paris on his way to London, he had interviews with Wellington, Castlereagh, Blücher, Metternich, Pozzo di Borgo, and other important people; and, on his arrival in London, he was informed on behalf of the head of the Government, Lord Liverpool, that if he remained at St. Helena for three years "it should not stop there."

Sir Hudson Lowe's most obvious qualifications for the new post were: his rank, to which he had been raised by no influence save good work; his experience and success as Governor of other islands in the Mediterranean; his perfect fluency in both French and Italian; his knowledge of Corsica and connection with the Corsican regiment; and his acquaintance with many of the foremost continental celebrities of the day—kings, generals, and statesmen. On these grounds a more suitable man could scarcely have been found, as Napoleon himself, and the Longwood society, all agreed. Napoleon said to Bingham, on hearing of the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe: "I am glad of it; I am tired of the Admiral, and there are many points I should like to talk over with Sir Hudson Lowe. He is a soldier, and has served; he was with Blücher; besides, he commanded the Corsican regiment and knows many of my friends and acquaintances." Las Cases writes: "A man is appointed to take the command here who holds a distinguished rank in the Army; he owes his fortune to his personal merit, his life has been passed in diplomatic missions at the head-quarters of the Sovereigns of the Continent, where the name, the rank, the power, the titles of the Emperor Napoleon must have become familiar to him. His arrival alone is therefore a sufficient pledge of

[1] B.M., 20114, p. 237.

the favourable nature of his instructions with respect to us. 'Did you not tell me,' said the Emperor to us one day, 'that he was at Champaubert and at Montmirail? We have then probably exchanged a few cannon-balls together, and that is always, in my eyes, a noble relation to stand in.' Such was the disposition in which Sir Hudson Lowe was expected." Evidently then he was, in his public record, a proper choice, and recognized as such by all concerned.

Sir Hudson Lowe had also two other essential qualifications—humanity, and the sense of duty. In Lowe's report to the Under Secretary of War from "Head-Quarters, Field-Marshal Blücher's Army, Montmirail, March 26th, 1814," there is a passage worth quoting. There had been a premature and hesitating offer of surrender on the part of a French column of infantry, but an officer sent forward, waving a white handkerchief, to offer them his protection, was unfortunately shot down. "It was obvious," writes Lowe, "that all kind of parley was useless. The artillery again opened their fire. The shattered, broken, and now entirely disordered column, which at each step it advanced left a track of dead and wounded men behind it, could hardly oppose any resistance to the immense body of cavalry by which it was surrounded; and one general overwhelming charge of the Cossacks ensued. Those alone escaped from the blows who were hemmed up in the centre, and protected by the mangled bodies of the men in the foremost ranks, which strewed the ground so thickly that neither the long pikes of the Cossacks and Lancers nor the swords of the Dragoons could reach beyond them. The blood rushed to my face, and I blushed for my very nature as a man at witnessing the scene of carnage which ensued. Every individual was instantly cut down or transfixed by the pikes of the Cossacks and Lancers; and nothing actually saved the whole body from destruction but the physical impossibility of reaching, by any means, the persons who were collected in the centre." The man who could write thus in an official report, was not

SIR HUDSON LOWE

From a pencil sketch by Wyvill

of a callous or inhuman nature. This testimony supports that already quoted, with regard to the fatherly relations Lowe had established between himself and the inhabitants of the islands he had administered. We have also seen that Lowe made warm friends among his comrades of all nations. Here is what Colonel Basil Jackson wrote, on hearing of his death in 1844: "I was honoured with the friendly notice of Sir Hudson Lowe, and enjoyed much of his confidence during a course of thirty years. I knew him when his military reputation marked him as an officer of the highest promise; I saw him when the malice of his enemies had gained the ascendant and covered him with unmerited opprobrium; I beheld him on his death-bed: and throughout these various phases of his career I admired and respected his character, while I truly loved the man. I knew him to be a kind, indulgent, affectionate husband and parent; a warm and steady friend, a placable, nay, generous enemy, and an upright public servant."[1] There are not many men who would receive so warm a panegyric even from their dearest friends. Jackson wrote to Henry: "He was very much liked by all who served under him, being at all times kind, considerate, generous, and hospitable."

What was expected of him in regard to his official duty was well expressed by Gneisenau, who wrote him as follows, during the St. Helena period:

"Thousands of times have I carried my thoughts over the vast ocean of solitude to that interesting rock on which you are the guardian of the public repose of Europe. On your vigilance and on your force of character depends our safety; if you were to relax your rigorous care against the wiliest villain (*plus rusé scélérat*) in the world, if you were to allow your subordinates to grant him any favours through a mistaken pity, our repose would be compromised, and honest

[1] "Napoleon's captivity in relation to Sir Hudson Lowe," R. C. Seaton, p. 72.

folk in Europe would be a prey to their old anxiety. I have often been questioned on this point—I who was known to have the honour of your acquaintance—and I always replied that I could guarantee your loyalty, your sagacity, and your vigilance. The most devoted of your friends, I am so deeply interested in your well-being that I beg you across the sea to have the goodness to give me news of your health, your pleasures, your pains, your domestic happiness, in short of all that can interest a friend."[1]

This was, after all, the most important point, that the Governor should not fall under the influence of Napoleon, as so many had done, and Sir Neil Campbell, at Elba, was supposed to have done. The common belief that Napoleon's departure from Elba had been connived at by the British representative, was one of the influences which would have forced any Governor of St. Helena to make it evident that he, at least, had not been won over. What happened at Elba has a very important bearing upon the St. Helena history. It influenced the feelings and actions of all concerned. Lord Bathurst's regulations were affected by it. Sir George Cockburn's behaviour to his prisoner was inspired by a deliberate pose of defiance, which would never have been assumed, but for the fact that Britain alone had been represented at Elba, and the British representative had been duped by Napoleon. It was of the first significance, vital above everything else, that the world should have absolute confidence that the British surveillance should not break down a second time.

The new Governor had to be impervious to the Napoleonic glamour. He had to be a man of resolute and determined character, who would bear all the insults and mendacious defamations to which he would be exposed, and go straight on in his narrow path, shrinking from no necessary precaution and severity on the one hand, and denying no possible

[1] Seaton, p. 123.

kindness and indulgence on the other. Events were to prove that he would become a martyr to his duty. As Napoleon once observed, "I can do what I like with the reputation of the Governor. Whatever I may say about him, about his bad treatment of me, and his thoughts of using poison, will be believed." But Sir Hudson Lowe's one idea—a real obsession—was to do his duty. It was a fixed, ingrained habit, and the certainty that his reputation would be ruined in the process would not have affected this dominant passion.

On the last day of the year, the 31st December, 1815, Sir Hudson Lowe was married to Mrs. Johnson, widow of Colonel Johnson, the eldest son and heir of Sir John Johnson, Bart., of Montreal. Mrs. Johnson had before her first marriage been Miss Susan de Lancy, daughter of Stephen de Lancy, Governor of Tobago, of a family of some note in New York. Lady Lowe had two daughters, the Misses Johnson. Her brother succeeded Lowe as Quartermaster-General to the Duke of Wellington in 1815, and was killed at the battle of Waterloo. Colonel Johnson died on the 11th January, 1812. Lady Lowe was a woman of attractive appearance, and lively and agreeable manners.

On the 23rd January, 1816, Lowe was made a K.C.B. On the 29th he sailed for St. Helena with Lady Lowe, Miss Johnson, and the chief members of his staff.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade was the Deputy Adjutant-General. He was the only son of William Reade, of Congleton, Cheshire, and was born on the 1st September, 1782. His mother Hannah, daughter and coheiress of Barnabas Lowe of Congleton, died when the child was only two years old, and his father died when he was eleven. Reade was articled to a solicitor, but he ran away to enlist, and became an Ensign of the 27th Light Infantry in August, 1799. In 1800 he obtained his lieutenancy. He served in the Egyptian campaign of 1801. In 1806, as a Captain, he was in command, under Colonel Bunbury, of gunboats, whose duty

it was to protect the coast of Sicily and Messina from the threatened invasion of Murat, King of Naples. He distinguished himself, received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief on five occasions, and was promoted Brevet-Major in 1811. In 1813 he served on the east coast of Spain, in 1814 in North America, and in 1815 he was Deputy Adjutant-General to the force under Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe at Genoa. In September, 1815, aged only thirty-three, he was knighted and made a C.B. and given the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Reade had to help Lowe to unravel the complicated intrigues that went on, and he incurred some odium in the process. The hypercritical disliked his perpetual smile. He had a genial, good-tempered personality, and Napoleon, who received him as the mouthpiece of Lowe when the Governor was no longer admitted, at first liked Reade. "He appears to be a fine young man" (*bravo giovane*), he said to O'Meara.[1] But Napoleon's feelings changed afterwards towards Reade, whom he declined to receive. Balmain reported that he had little education or ability, and was neither amiable nor agreeable. He said that the English feared Reade, which may have been the case.

Lowe's A.D.C. was Brevet-Major Gideon Gorrequer, aged thirty-eight, of the 18th Foot. Most of Gorrequer's active service had been in Sicily and the Ionian Islands. Familiar with Italian, he was also an accomplished French linguist. He had been on the staff of Sir Hudson Lowe in the South of France in 1815. At St. Helena Gorrequer was Lowe's secretary; he wrote many of the first drafts of his letters and despatches, he was present at important interviews, and took minutes of what occurred, and was an invaluable assistant, with his accurate memory and his industry.

The Military Secretary was Colonel E. B. Wynyard, of the Grenadier Guards. He became known to Lowe during war

[1] From O'Meara's diary, published in the "Century Magazine," February, 1900.

From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

MAJOR GIDEON GORREQUER

From "A St. Helena Who's Who"

SIR THOMAS READE

service at Ischia. Major Emmett was in command of the Engineers.

Alexander Baxter was Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals. Born in 1777, Baxter was appointed Assistant-Surgeon to the 35th Foot, on the 3rd August, 1799, and on the 12th April, 1805, he became Surgeon to the Corsican Rangers. In that capacity he was present at the surrender of Capri. Baxter was in the thick of the discussions and disputes as to the climate, the false bulletins, the conduct of O'Meara, and the affair of Surgeon Stokoe, and he gave Sir Hudson Lowe an unswerving support.

Basil Jackson, born in 1795, was, at the age of nineteen, on the Staff of Sir Hudson Lowe, when he was Quarter-master-General in the Netherlands in 1814 and 1815. At St. Helena he was placed in charge of the Longwood buildings, to supervise repairs and see that the residents were comfortable. His duties brought him much in the society of the French, who liked him. He left St. Helena on the 8th July, 1819. He became a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Staff Corps, and Professor of Military Surveying at Addiscombe.[1] Jackson died so late as 1889, at the great age of ninety-four.

The Commissary was Denzil Ibbetson (1775–1857), who began his career in 1808 as a clerk in the Commissariat Department, with Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal. He went through the whole of the Peninsula campaign, and in 1814 was promoted Assistant Commissary-General. He went to St. Helena with Napoleon on the *Northumberland*. On the island he performed the duties of Storekeeper-General, Paymaster-General, and Barrack-Master. On the 1st April, 1818, he had to undertake the unpleasant work of purveyor to Longwood, in succession to Balcombe. In that post he had the ability to please both Plantation and Longwood, a fact which speaks well of his character. Ibbetson had to supply not only Longwood, but the whole garrison,

[1] Seaton, p. 122.

which was dispersed in strong detachments, in some cases at a considerable distance from the town; and when he arrived nearly all the carts of the island had to be used for the supply of Longwood alone.[1]

The Senior Chaplain was the Rev. Richard Boys (1785–1867). Boys took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1807. He was appointed Junior Chaplain at St. Helena in 1811, and in 1815 was Senior Chaplain. In that position he was incumbent of St. Paul's, the "Country Church," just above Plantation House. Boys was a man of uncompromising type. In the pulpit he attacked Admiral Plampin, in the most outspoken manner, for living with a woman who was not his wife. He went to Rio de Janeiro, and was sent back by Mr. Thornton, who reported his conduct to the Board of Directors. Boys "had given great scandal at Rio de Janeiro by his indecent behaviour on the occasion of a public procession of the Catholic Religion."[2]

The Junior Chaplain was the Rev. Bowater Vernon, born in 1789, at Jamaica, son of Captain Bowater Vernon. He had charge of the Jamestown Church. He was liked by the French, who chose him to christen the Montholon and Bertrand babies. Boys officiated with him at the burial of Cipriani. Vernon published in 1848 a book, "Early Recollections of Jamaica, to which are added trifles from St. Helena relating to Napoleon and his suite," in which he gave warm support to Sir Hudson Lowe.

When Lowe arrived, in April, 1816, he found the 2nd Battalion 53rd Foot, 550 strong, encamped at Deadwood. The regiment had been through the whole of the Peninsula War, and their Colonel, Bingham, was for a time, in 1811–12, in command of the 6th division of the troops under Wellington. The troopships which carried the regiment to St. Helena sailed

[1] Letter from Sir G. Bingham to Sir G. Cockburn, 11th March, 1816; from a copy kindly supplied me, with other particulars, by Miss Ibbetson. And see B.M., 20220, p. 5, "Memo. of carts to be furnished for public service."

[2] B.M., 20133, p. 382.

with the *Northumberland* but arrived later, the *Havannah* on October 17th, 1815, the *Bucephalus* on October 19th, and the *Ceylon* on October 27th. The whole regiment went up to Deadwood on the 3rd November, 1815.

The regiment was at first in the command of Major Oliver G. Fehrzen, who, for that reason, was invited to dinner by Napoleon, on the 13th December, three days after his arrival at Longwood.

Fehrzen went to the Cape on the 18th March, 1816, and the command of the regiment then devolved for a time upon Captain Robert Younghusband. Mrs. Younghusband was a descendant of Oliver Cromwell, a fact which interested Napoleon, who achieved a conquest over both her and her husband. Mrs. Younghusband was fined by the Court £250 for slandering Mrs. Nagle, wife of Lieutenant Nagle of the 53rd; she made a quarrel between her husband and Captain Harrison of the same regiment, which almost led to a duel; and she corresponded in a clandestine manner with Las Cases, as was discovered when his papers were examined.

The 53rd Regiment provided the first orderly officers in attendance on Napoleon, Captain J. Mackay at The Briars, and Captain T. W. Poppleton at Longwood. Poppleton joined the 53rd in Egypt, in 1801, and went with it to India, and then through the Peninsula campaign. On his departure from Longwood Poppleton accepted from Napoleon a gold snuff-box.

Sir Hudson Lowe brought with him from England the 2nd Battalion 66th. This regiment, like the 2nd Battalion 53rd, had been through the Peninsula War. It was quartered at Jamestown, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Dodgin. The 1st Battalion arrived from India in two detachments, on the 27th June and 5th July, 1817, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Nicol. When the 53rd left Deadwood, on the 17th July, 1817, about five hundred men of the 66th, most of them of the 1st Battalion, replaced that

regiment. The 2nd Battalion 66th was ordered to be reduced. Colonel Nicol, with thirty-nine officers of the two battalions, was introduced to Napoleon on the 1st September, 1817.[1] Nicol left in March, 1818, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Edmund Lascelles, until that officer fell into disgrace owing to his inept conduct in the matter of O'Meara's dismissal from the regimental mess. He and Lieutenant Reardon, who was also implicated, left St. Helena on the 29th October, 1818. Lieut.-Colonel Dodgin then took command of both battalions.[2]

Walter Henry, son of a merchant in Donegal, was born there on 1st January, 1791. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon to the 66th in 1811, and went through the last years of the Peninsula War with the 2nd Battalion. Then he went with the 1st Battalion to India, and arrived with it at St. Helena on 5th July, 1817. He was a Staff Surgeon in 1839, and Deputy Inspector-General in Canada in 1845, and died there in 1860. He was the author of "Trifles from my Portfolio," published in 1839, afterwards issued, in 1843, as "Events of a Military Life." He wrote strongly in favour of Sir Hudson Lowe; he had made an affidavit on Lowe's side in the action against O'Meara. Henry was a young man of lively disposition and considerable ability. His hostility to the Longwood policy did not prevent him from making great friends with the Bertrands, whom he frequently visited.

The 20th Foot arrived from England in April and May, 1819. This regiment had been with Wellington in Spain in 1812–14. On arrival at St. Helena it was quartered at Jamestown, Francis Plain, Lemon Valley, High Knoll and Ladder Hill, until February, 1820, when it went up to Deadwood, exchanging places with the 66th. The 20th was suffering severely from illness, and it was hoped that the change to the higher land would be beneficial, which proved

[1] B.M., 20208, p. 126; 20161, p. 9.
[2] B.M., 20124, p. 142.

to be the case. Lieut.-Colonel Samuel South was in command. He left on the 3rd September, 1820,[1] and Major Edward Jackson succeeded him.

The civil administration of the island was in the hands of the Governor, assisted by a Council of two, sometimes three, with a secretary. The chief member of Council was William Doveton, born in 1753, a native of the island, or "Yamstock." Doveton, who had never before been out of the island, left for England on the 14th March, 1818, and returned Sir William, having been knighted by the Prince Regent in return for the support he had given to the formation of the St. Helena Regiment. Napoleon paid two visits to Doveton's house at Sandy Bay. Doveton was present at Napoleon's funeral in 1821, and at the exhumation in 1840. He died in in 1843, aged ninety.

The two other members of Council were Thomas Greentree, son-in-law of Sir William Doveton, and—for a short time—Sir George Bingham. The secretary was Thomas Henry Brooke, nephew of Colonel Robert Brooke, the Governor from 1787–1801. Colonel Brooke was the son of Henry Brooke, author of the "The Fool of Quality," a novel which has lived to this day. T. H. Brooke was born in 1774 and went out to St. Helena in 1792, to act as secretary to his uncle. He married in 1799 Miss Annie Wright. He wrote the "History of St. Helena," which was published in 1808, and was completed by a post-Napoleonic edition in 1824. Brooke lived on the slope of a hill now known as Brooke Hill, in a small house to which he gave the name of Prospect. In 1821 he built the Prospect House which still exists, to replace what he called his cabin. The grounds are wooded and attractive, and the house deserves its name, as there is a fine view of High Knoll, and of the sea. Brooke became a member of Council, and when Sir Hudson Lowe left after the death of Napoleon he officiated as Acting Governor until the arrival of General Walker in 1823. When that officer retired

[1] B.M., 20161, p. 63.

Brooke officiated again as Acting Governor for a few days, before the arrival of General Dallas. Brooke left St. Helena in 1836, when the change was made that gave the island to the Crown and led to the retirement of the Company's officers. He died at Plymouth in 1849.

CHAPTER XI

NAPOLEON'S RECEPTION OF SIR HUDSON LOWE

SIR HUDSON LOWE was more than five months in England, as the designated guardian of Napoleon, before he set sail, on the 29th January, 1816, to take up his new duties. During that period he had ample time to become acquainted with the wishes of the Government, and to reflect upon the situation in which he was to be placed. Lord Bathurst impressed upon him that he was "to allow every indulgence to General Buonaparte which may be compatible with the entire security of his person; that he should not by any means escape, or hold communication with any person whatever (excepting through your agency), must be your unremitted care; and these points being made sure, every resource and amusement which may serve to reconcile Buonaparte to his confinement may be permitted."

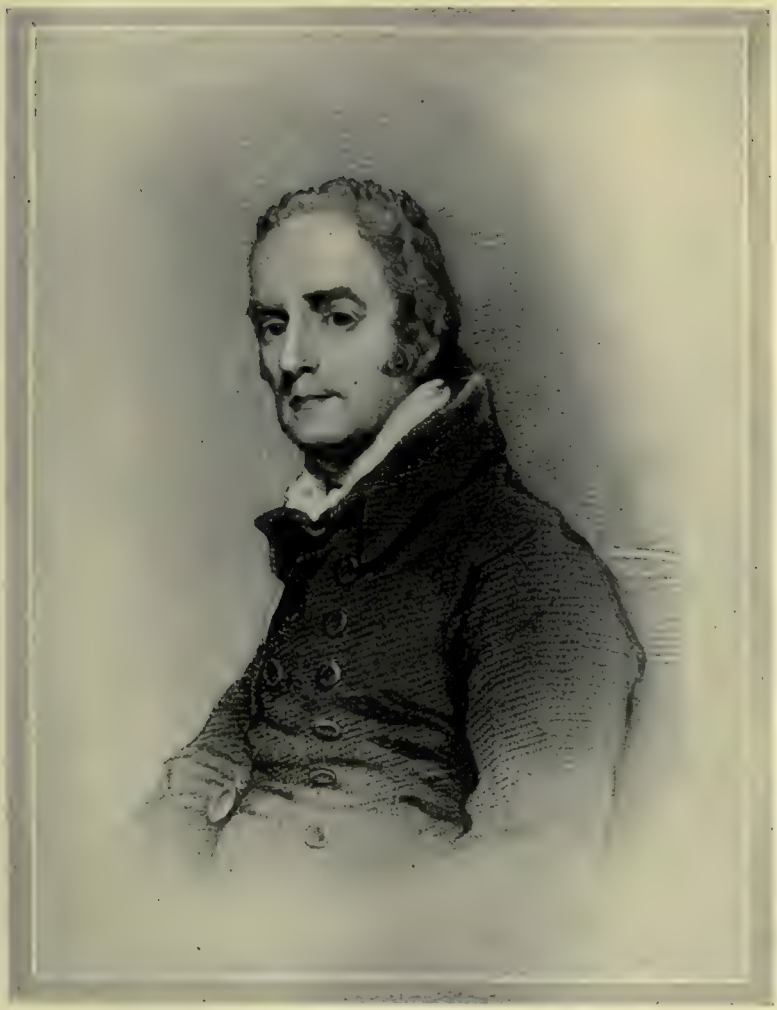
The first consideration was, not merely that Napoleon was to be unable to repeat the Elban escapade, but that there was to be no possible ground for anxiety, or excuse for alarming rumours. Lowe was fully conscious of the importance of his mission, as the guardian of the repose of Europe. He felt that the eyes of the world were upon him, and that there was some anxiety lest he should prove another Neil Campbell. There should be no weakness or lethargy on his part in the great trust imposed upon him.

Napoleon hoped much from the new Governor. He regarded Cockburn as a rough sailor, a "*grossière personnage*," but Lowe had been attached to the Staffs of the continental

armies, had been well received by the Czar, and spoke French and Italian with fluency. Napoleon expected him to furnish a sort of link between His Imperial Majesty and the Kings and Courts of Europe. He had moved in the society of the great, and would be versed in the courtier's forms when in the presence of an Emperor. Cockburn, after standing with Napoleon in conversation for an hour, went to a chair and sat down. Napoleon was confident that Sir Hudson Lowe would, in such case, at least make a show of asking leave to be seated; he expected to receive from Lowe all the deference he could claim, and that, from that standpoint of vantage, he would be able, by subtle flattery, to win him over. Not that the Governor was to be expected to connive at his escape, but that he should become his prisoner's advocate, supporting the claim for recognition of his title and removal to a position nearer to Europe. In any case, even if nothing was to be changed on these points, Napoleon felt confident that there would be no repetition of the marked *sans gêne* that Cockburn had exhibited in the Imperial presence.

On the 14th April, 1816, H.M.S. *Phaeton* anchored in Jamestown roads, at 5 p.m. Lowe considered his first duty was to present himself to Napoleon, and 9 a.m. on the 16th was suggested for the visit. Napoleon sent a message through Captain Poppleton that he would receive the Governor at that time. He remarked to his followers, that the early hour was not in accordance with their ideas of politeness, and when Bertrand said that Cockburn would present Lowe, he said, "I was not informed of that; if the Admiral comes I will receive nobody."

When, on the 16th April, Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir George Cockburn, and Sir George Bingham, with their respective Staffs, arrived at Longwood at the appointed hour, in a storm of wind and rain, and enquired for the "General," they were informed that the "Emperor" was indisposed and could not receive them. Napoleon gave as his excuse the absence of the Grand Marshal, but as the appointment had been made



EARL BATHURST

From H. Meyer's engraving after the painting by T. Phillips, R.A.

with his approval Bertrand should have been there to perform the necessary ceremonies.

Another appointment had to be made, for the next day, at 4 p.m. Lowe was much disconcerted at the rebuff he had sustained on his first appearance, and was distressed at the supposition that his visit had been untimely. The French asserted that Cockburn had brought Lowe at an inconvenient hour, in order to prejudice them against the new Governor. Napoleon said to O'Meara that the Admiral "wished to embroil me with the new Governor, and for that purpose persuaded him to come up here at nine o'clock in the morning, though he must have known that I never received any person at that hour. Insulting those who are in your power, and consequently cannot make any opposition, is a sign of an ignoble mind." The habit of imputing bad motives made him suppose that Cockburn would endeavour to prevent his becoming on good terms with Sir Hudson Lowe, because he himself had failed in that direction. His own contribution was to decline, without the usual expressions of courteous regret, to receive the officers who had come to pay their respects at an hour which had been expressly agreed upon; in this way he was dealing a blow at the old official and exhibiting his independence to the new one.

On the 17th Lowe and Cockburn arrived at Longwood at 4 p.m. They were received in the entrance-room by the Grand Marshal and the other officers. Bertrand went to apprise the Emperor, who kept his visitors waiting for half an hour, and then entered the drawing-room. Noverraz, the valet, was told to summon the Governor, which he did, but he stopped Cockburn, who was following, and shut him out.

Sir Hudson Lowe on entering found Napoleon standing, with his hat under his arm, in accordance with his practice on such occasions. As Napoleon did not speak, Lowe began: "I am come, Sir, to present my respects to you." Napoleon replied, "You speak French, Sir, I perceive; but you also speak Italian. You once commanded a regiment of Corsi-

cans." Lowe said the language was alike to him. "We will speak, then, in Italian," said Napoleon, and a polite conversation followed, of about half an hour's duration.

Napoleon made the remark, so often repeated, "which he pronounced," says Lowe, "in a very serious manner": "In war, the game is always with him who commits the fewest faults." He asked Lowe how many years he had been in the service. "Twenty-eight." "I am, therefore, an older soldier than you," said Napoleon. "Of which," Lowe replied, "history will make mention in a very different manner." The great soldier "smiled but said nothing." To his followers, when repeating the conversation, Napoleon said he had told Lowe he had nearly forty years of service, and Lowe replied that they were so many centuries, a more courtier-like remark than the Governor's awkward, almost presumptuous, attempt at compliment. Lowe's service was twenty-nine years and Napoleon's thirty-one. It was characteristic of the two men that Lowe, to be accurate in months, should have given himself a year less than he might have done, while Napoleon boldly added nine years to his own record. The interview was concluded by the presentation of Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer.

In the meantime Sir George Cockburn remained in the entrance-room, waiting to be sent for. "He told me," Lowe wrote to Bathurst, "that Bertrand had almost shut the door in his face as he was following me into the room; that a servant had put his arm across him." Lowe was so preoccupied with the importance of the occasion, his first meeting with Napoleon, that he did not at first notice the absence of the Admiral. "I did not discover," he wrote afterwards, "till I turned round, intending to refer to the Admiral, that Sir George Cockburn was not in the room. It appeared afterwards that on his following me he was stopped at the door by Noverraz, Napoleon's Swiss valet. I must acknowledge my error in preceding Sir George Cockburn, who ought to have entered the room first for the purpose of introducing

me, but the mistake had taken place before I was aware of it, and when I was sensible of the irregularity it was too late to correct it."

Napoleon sent Montholon to make apologies to Sir George Cockburn, but Las Cases says that he was delighted at what had occurred, " burst into peals of laughter, with a childish joy, that of a schoolboy who has paid his master a trick. 'Ah, my good Noverraz,' said he, ' thou hast for once had a good idea.' " Though both Lowe and Cockburn were expected, and Bertrand had informed Napoleon that both had arrived, he showed no surprise when Lowe entered alone, and made no remark about the absence of the Admiral; it would have been characteristic of him to engineer, by means of Bertrand, the rebuff to Cockburn, and make it seem that the valet alone was at fault.

Napoleon said to his followers that it was as well the Admiral had not entered, for he would have attacked him, and would have said to him, " I am ashamed, for the sake of your uniform, of your behaviour here. Your conduct, unworthy of the service to which you belong, will bring great shame upon your descendants even to the tenth generation." He said to O'Meara: " I will never see the Admiral again with pleasure; my communication with him is finished now. If he chose to force his way in sword in hand he might have done it, as I was in his power, but with my own free will I will never see him again. He is a madman: a gross type of man."

Las Cases in his journal gives a long list of " the insults " they had received from Sir George Cockburn. They could not pass over his affected familiarity towards them, to which they made no response, nor forgive his attempt to extend it even to the Emperor; nor could they pardon his assuming and satisfied air when styling him General. Certainly the Emperor had immortalized that title, but the word, the tone, and the intention were so many insults. He placed sentinels under the windows of the Emperor, and, with a pleasantry

which was the bitterest irony, pretended that it was in the interests of the General, and for his safety. He would permit no visit except with a letter from him. He gave a ball and sent a written invitation to General Bonaparte, in the same way as to each of his suite. He replied with unbecoming humour to the Grand Marshal, who used the word Emperor, that he did not know of any Emperor in the island of St. Helena, that he knew of none in Europe or elsewhere who was not within his own dominions. He declined to allow the Emperor to write to the Prince Regent unless the letter was received by him open, or given him to read. He disturbed the respectful feelings of others for Napoleon; and they were informed that he had put under arrest some of the subordinate officers for having used the expression of Emperor.

He limited by his own mere caprice the extent of their promenades. He had even on this matter broken his word to the Emperor; he had assured him, in a moment of expansion, that he might go all over the island without the presence of the English officer in attendance being so much as noticed. But two or three days later, when Napoleon had his foot in the stirrup, with the intention of taking his *déjeuner* far from the house, he sustained the unworthy disappointment of being compelled to return, the officer having declared that for the future he had to form part of Napoleon's group and keep close to him. From that time the Emperor wished never again to see the Admiral. The latter had never observed the most ordinary forms of politeness, always choosing unusual hours for his visits, and sending at the same unreasonable times any strangers of distinction who arrived in the island, no doubt in order to prevent their seeing the Emperor, who always declined to receive them at such hours. The Admiral acted in this way on the occasion of the first visit of the new Governor; his delight on that occasion at the failure of Sir Hudson Lowe only too clearly exposed his object.

Napoleon summed up his opinion of the Admiral by saying to O'Meara: "He had an opportunity of getting a good character by treating me well, but instead of that he has procured himself one which will cover him with disgrace to posterity."

There was no justification for any of these complaints against Cockburn any more than for the subsequent similar clamours against Lowe. Both officers carried out their instructions with all the requisite consideration and politeness. The French policy for the present was to denounce Cockburn. When Las Cases remarked, that he was afraid that the new Governor would think they were intractable, "we who are by nature so gentle and patient, the Emperor could not prevent himself from smiling and pinching my ear."

Lowe was not charged with the "affected familiarity" that was so much resented in Cockburn. Napoleon's first impression of him was not unfavourable. He said to O'Meara, on the 18th April, the day after the first meeting: "I believe the new Governor is a man of very few words, but he appears a polite man. However, it is only from a man's conduct for some time that you can judge him."[1]

Lowe had been instructed by Lord Bathurst to obtain from all Napoleon's followers a written declaration that they intended to stay permanently with their master, and would submit to such restrictions as might be imposed upon them. Napoleon said to Gourgaud: "Well, have you heard the news? You will either declare your intention of remaining with me here in perpetuity, or you will be sent to the Cape." Gourgaud remarked that it needed but that to complete the horror of their situation. All hope of ever again seeing their

[1] "Century Magazine," February, 1900, p. 616. O'Meara would not permit this remark to appear in the "Voice from St. Helena," from which he cut it out. Las Cases says in the "Memorial" that Napoleon described Lowe's countenance as "hideous and villainous," but probably he antedated these expressions when he edited his diary, for O'Meara does not report them at this time. They were afterwards common enough.

families was to be taken away. He would rather be shot. "You see," replied Napoleon," that more courage is required to endure suffering than death. I have a presentiment that I shall be in France before those who go to the Cape."

He hoped all the followers would sign, and they found they could not avoid doing so. Each of the principals composed his own statement. Las Cases took the opportunity to complain of the "unjust treatment the Emperor Napoleon experiences by the most unheard-of violation of the rights of man." Montholon said that "all the laws of nations and those of England had been violated," and that they were "deprived of everything which could make life supportable, and subjected to arbitrary restrictions not even justified by necessity." Gourgaud characteristically complained only of his own situation. Separated from his family, having no person to look after him but strangers whose language he did not understand, barely recovered from an illness brought on by the climate, "I have experienced," he wrote, "more than anyone all the horrors of this place"; nevertheless he would remain, at the dictates of attachment, duty, and honour. In the first draft Gourgaud had ended by saying that honour compelled him to stay, but Napoleon showed ill-humour, remarking that it seemed that he was remaining only on a point of honour. To this Gourgaud replied, that as honour was preferable to life he thought it was the greatest of all incentives for him to make such a sacrifice. "His Majesty becomes annoyed, and orders me to correct my declaration." Under this compulsion Gourgaud added the reference to his attachment and duty. Gourgaud had not the casuistry of Las Cases nor the diplomacy of Montholon. It was a severe trial to him to have to say that he would remain willingly with Napoleon for the rest of his life.

Bertrand at first refused to make any such statement. He remarked to Gourgaud that he did not intend to remain more than six months; he would go to England to put his children to school and then come back in a year's time; he

BARON GOURGAUD

From a contemporary print

would not advise Gourgaud to remain at St. Helena in perpetuity. He wrote to Lowe that both Lord Keith and Sir H. Bunbury had told him he would be allowed to return from St. Helena, in one or two years: that he had therefore sent Lord Keith a written statement that he proposed to leave St. Helena after a year, in October, 1816, in order to go to England to arrange for the education of his children, and then return to St. Helena.[1] But Lowe had no option in the matter. On the 25th he wrote to Bertrand that unless he signed the declaration he would have to sail on the 27th, in the *Phaeton*, for the Cape. Poor Madame Bertrand lay awake all night in consequence. Next day Bertrand gave way. In his declaration he spoke of "the health of the Emperor not allowing of my leaving him at present."

Napoleon took the opportunity to tell his followers a story. He said that when he was First Consul, he was watching fireworks from a pavilion in which there were a number of people, and he heard a mother say to her daughter, that she was sorry she had not yet been able to call upon Mr. ——, who had been instrumental in having their names struck off the list of *émigrés*, and to whom they were under so many obligations. "But, Mamma," replied the daughter, "is there any necessity to call upon persons of whom we have no longer any need?" The Grand Marshal was much distressed to hear his master relate this anecdote.

Napoleon ordered all the domestics to sign. He was very indignant with Lowe for interrogating them personally as to their having done so of their own free will, and not without justification, though Lowe was merely carrying out his orders. The policy of the British Government with regard to these declarations does not commend itself. It was hoped to reduce the number of Napoleon's followers, and thus lessen the expense of maintaining so large an establishment and at the same time lighten the task of surveillance. Any objection to the number should have been raised at the

[1] B.M., 20230, p. 81.

beginning, before the departure for St. Helena. Napoleon had only four men and two women for all his French society, and no attempt should have been made to diminish that small band. As for the domestics, there were too many of them, but the way to deal with that situation was to reduce the number of English servants, not to try, in an indirect manner, to force the French to abandon their master, after having agreed to let them accompany him in his exile.

On the 20th April Colonel Wilks, with his daughter Laura, called at Longwood before leaving for England. It has been suggested that Wilks would have been a more suitable, as well as a more acceptable, guardian than Lowe. The record kept by Colonel Wilks of what occurred on this occasion, proves that Napoleon would have behaved towards him as he did to Cockburn and Lowe. We reproduce what Colonel Wilks wrote down at the time.[1]

"21*st April*, 1816.

"On the day preceding my visit to take leave of Buonaparte, Bertrand called upon me.

"BERTRAND. As the former Governor of the island, and intimately acquainted with every locality connected with our situation, would there be any impropriety in asking you to take charge of a communication from the Emperor to your Government; or would you consider such a charge to be troublesome?

"W. Far from troublesome; and I shall be very happy to take charge of any communication from General Buonaparte which may be committed to me for that purpose by Sir Hudson Lowe.

"B. (Looking confused.) And not otherwise?

"W. Certainly not. I am sorry you should think it necessary to propose to any person a deviation from the

[1] First published in "The Monthly Review," January, 1901. Miss Wilks and Mrs. Younghusband were present and wrote independent accounts of the conversation for the use of Colonel Wilks. "Blackwood's Magazine," January, 1834.

prescribed channel of communication; and very sorry that you should think it proper to make such a proposition to me.

"There were several other persons in the room, and he was attempting some explanation when other visitors interrupted the conversation.

"I had in the course of the day a communication with Sir Hudson Lowe on the subject, and before going to Buonaparte next day I called at Bertrand's (in conformity to Sir H. Lowe's particular request) with the view of remonstrating with him on this kind of proceeding. He had gone to the Admiral's: but I saw Las Cases, with whom circumstances had brought me into some degree of intimacy. Among other arguments I observed to him that if anything could possibly induce the officer charged with their custody to adopt measures of farther restraint it would be their attempts at concealed communication; that Sir Hudson Lowe was bound to transmit whatever representations Buonaparte might send, even if they conveyed complaints against himself; that if B. meant fairly, it was an unworthy distrust to seek for any other than the established channel of communication, or for the transmission of sealed papers, and as confidence usually generated confidence, so would distrust beget distrust, and all the unpleasant consequences which it involves. These observations led to a discussion of the question lately proposed to Sir G. Cockburn whether he would transmit a sealed letter to the Prince Regent. Las Cases distinctly stated that the proposed letter contained no political matter, and had an exclusive reference to domestic affairs, of too much delicacy to be communicated to a third person. To which I could only reply, that neither the principles of the British Constitution, nor the nature of our relations to the State prisoner and to the Powers of Europe respectively, could well admit of the Prince Regent holding communications with General Buonaparte that were to be concealed from his responsible ministers: that the officer charged with the important trust of his custody must

necessarily be considered as possessing the confidence of his sovereign, and if fit for his situation at all he was fit to be trusted with any communication however secret or delicate it might be. A great deal of bad argument only terminated in the conclusion that they would think otherwise in France; and after a short interval I was shown in to Buonaparte.

"B. How fares the gout? I was sorry to hear of your late indisposition.

"W. I am much obliged to you. I rejoice in being so much recovered as to be enabled to pay my respects to you before my departure from St. Helena.

"B. Shall you see the Prince Regent on your return?

"W. I hope to have the honour of paying my respects.

"B. Do you wait upon him immediately on your arrival as a matter of duty?

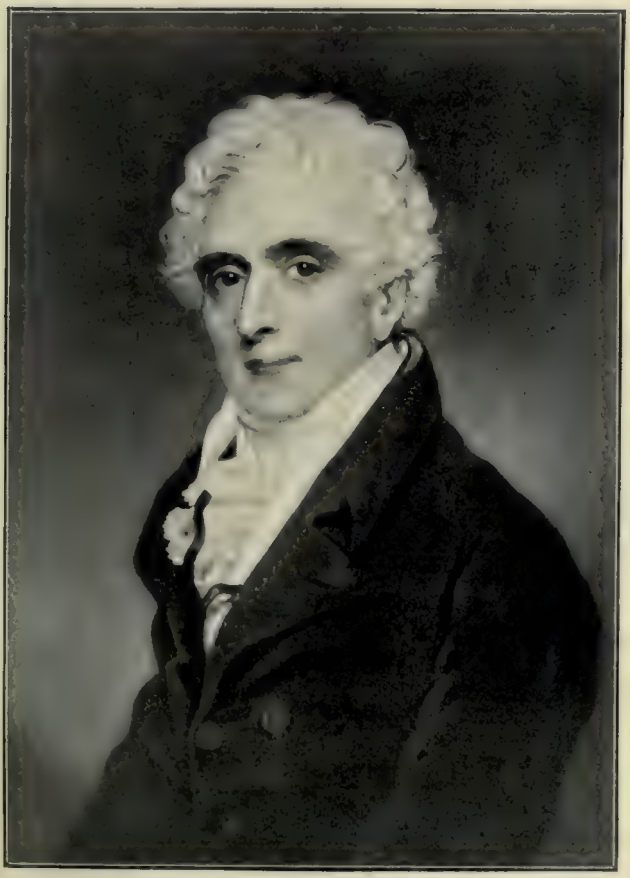
"W. No: as a matter of duty I wait on the Ministers for Indian and Colonial Affairs.

"B. My ideas of your national character have lately undergone a considerable change. I see none of that bold independence of character which has been ascribed to the English. In your Army and Navy I recognize nothing but a blind and undistinguishing obedience, and a fear of your superiors greater than I have ever observed in nations the most stigmatized for servility. There is no man in France, for example, who, in charge of a prison or a depot, would refuse to transmit a sealed letter from a prisoner to his sovereign.

"W. Nor in England, perhaps, in ordinary cases, and where the orders did not require all such letters to be open.

"B. In France men are actuated by their feelings. In a recent instance, Marshal Marmont, as the papers inform you, disobeyed his orders in favour of Madame Ney.

"W. And incurred his sovereign's displeasure accordingly. Marshal Marmont would not have ventured on such a step under some of the Governments which have existed in France.



From "A St. Helena Who's Who

COLONEL MARK WILKS

"B. Is the oppressive system to be continued in this island of excluding private ships? What is the use of it? Where is the justice of admitting some and excluding others? Making a distinction between the ships of the Company and those of individual merchants.

"W. I am not aware of any intention to change the present system. Looking merely to security it may, perhaps, be thought that we have done either too much or too little, while we admit any merchant ships or exclude any: but the question has other bearings unnecessary to discuss.

"B. It is a barbarous arrangement. Lately a private ship was fired at to compel her to depart; and she nevertheless stood on; the master declaring that he would prefer being sunk to perishing for want of water.

"W. I rather think you have been misinformed: cases of that kind are always exaggerated; before the existence of the causes for the present arrangements, any ship attempting to pass the batteries without observing the prescribed forms would be fired at.

"B. It was not a battery but the *Northumberland*, and it accords with the brusque unfeeling conduct of that department of your service, which appears to me to be very ill-administered.

"W. Our Navy is not noted among ourselves for peculiar gentleness of manner; but it has served our purpose tolerably well."

It is obvious that Colonel Wilks, who was admitted by all to be genial and kindly by nature, courtier-like and tactful in manner, would have become embroiled with Napoleon if he had been charged with his surveillance. He was compelled to say plainly that he was "very sorry" that Bertrand "should think it proper to make such a proposition," he called on Bertrand "with the view of remonstrating with him on this kind of proceeding"; he said "that if anything could possibly induce the officer charged with their custody

to adopt measures of further restraint it would be their attempts at concealed communication," that "if Buonaparte meant fairly, it was an unworthy distrust," and that "distrust would beget distrust, and all the unpleasant consequences which it involves." This is strong condemnation of Napoleon's conduct. In the interview Napoleon expressed himself very rudely about the English national character, about the "barbarous arrangement" of excluding private ships, and the "unfeeling conduct" of the Navy department, which was "very ill-administered." Colonel Wilks met rudeness with politeness, a firm approval of the measures adopted by the British Government, and a staunch support of Sir Hudson Lowe. He was already on the verge of a quarrel with Napoleon, and in the place of Cockburn or Lowe he would have found himself denounced as a brutal tyrant, of disagreeable appearance and insulting manners. If Colonel Wilks had, like Sir Hudson Lowe, been met on his first appearance by a premeditated and public affront, followed, within a week of his arrival, by a deliberate defiance of the regulations laid down by the British Government, it is probable that he would have had the courage to establish those "measures of further restraint" which Sir Hudson Lowe abstained from putting into operation.

When Captain Hamilton, of the *Havannah*, presented himself with his officers at Longwood to pay a farewell visit before leaving for England, Napoleon, in spite of his failure with Colonel Wilks, asked him to take a letter to the Prince Regent, unopened, and without the knowledge of Sir Hudson Lowe. Hamilton declined, whereupon Napoleon entered into a violent tirade against the British Government, and told Hamilton to report what he had said to the Prince Regent. "I demand liberty or the gallows. I am not the prisoner of England."

Colonel and Mrs. Wilks, with their daughter Laura, left St. Helena on the *Havannah*. Miss Laura was an attractive girl who won all hearts. Gourgaud was one of her victims.

He records in his diary, that his second meeting with her was at the Admiral's ball of the 20th November, 1815, at the Castle. He describes her as "a combination of sweetness, spirit, and distinction. She bows to me, in the dance. Ah! why am I a prisoner?" He goes to Plantation House: "I meet Miss Wilks, full of sweetness. There is a woman for you!" (*Voilà une femme!*) "I walk with her in the garden, which is very pretty; there are some very fine oaks there. I fear that far from Plantation House I may become melancholy." Napoleon disapproved of his follower's inclination, and told him that he would get for him a better marriage in France. Mrs. Skelton said to Gourgaud that he went too often to Plantation, that he was too much in love with Miss Wilks, who would soon leave the island, that he could not have any hopes in that direction as his position was so frightful. "I return very sad to Longwood," says Gourgaud. Bertrand assured him that he was preferred to the other pretenders. He went again to Plantation, and writes: "The more I see her, the more I love her, but, alas! as Mrs. Skelton says, 'Your position is so frightful.'" Then comes the parting. He goes to Plantation and presents his homage to Colonel and Mrs. Wilks, and takes final leave of "the adorable Laura." He hears the guns which salute the departure of the Governor and his family, and writes, in despair, "Adieu, Laure!"

Sir Hudson Lowe visited Las Cases and Montholon in their apartments. They both relate that he showed himself most anxious to do what was possible for their comfort. Las Cases records that he expressed his regret at the roughness of his accommodation, more like bivouacs than apartments, and gave orders for improvements to be effected; he "politely remarked that he had brought with him about 1500 to 2000 French volumes which he would be very pleased to place at our disposal." Montholon says that Lowe "affected an extreme desire to live in good relations with us, and to do all that might lie in his power to make the execution

of his instructions accord with the convenience of the Emperor." But when Lowe asked to see Napoleon the answer sent was that he was ill in bed. "However," adds Montholon, "no sooner is the Governor gone than the Emperor orders his carriage and goes for a long drive." In the evening Lowe sent up to Longwood a number of bulletins of the Grand Army, and official documents relating to the Egyptian Expedition.

Las Cases accepted an invitation to Plantation House, where he was introduced to Lady Lowe, whom he found "pretty and amiable, perhaps something of an actress. Sir Hudson Lowe married her shortly before his departure from Europe, and precisely, so we are told, that she might help him to show us the honours of the colony. The Governor exhibited towards me an exceptional politeness and good feeling, which impressed me." Gourgaud writes: "On his return Las Cases relates that he was very well received, that the Governor has placed his library at our disposal."

But when Las Cases complained that there were no trees at Longwood to give shade, and Lowe, desirous of consulting the wishes of his charges in every particular, immediately said, "Then we will plant some," this effort to please was considered by Las Cases as an "Atrocious remark! First barbarity of Sir Hudson Lowe!" There were a number of trees in the Longwood garden already. Las Cases makes Napoleon take his *déjeuner* under a tree on many occasions.

The necessity of seeing evil in every remark made by the Governor and in every incident of their detention, reacted upon the followers, made them jaundiced towards each other, and increased the quarrelling, which would, in any case, have been inevitable. Those who know what it is to have little variety in companions, on a small island, or on a long sea voyage, will not need to be told that there was considerable friction in the close and confined atmosphere of Longwood.

Gourgaud, having lost the adorable Laura, was in a very

COUNT LAS CASES

From a portrait done at the Cape in 1817

touchy condition. He complained that when Montholon had his meals in his own apartments, there was nothing to eat for the rest of the party. And Napoleon treated him with contempt. "27 April. The Emperor calls me to play chess. I hasten and find His Majesty already playing with the Grand Marshal. . . . 28 April. The Emperor is gloomy and cold towards me. At six o'clock he sends for me in the garden. His Majesty is with Bertrand and addresses no word to me; we go for a drive. The dinner is melancholy, the evening lugubrious. . . . 1st May. His Majesty does not go out, and dines in his room with Las Cases. As for me, I dine with the Montholons; the conversation is not animated." The meal was, in all probability, taken in silence, save for an occasional remark between the Montholons. Gourgaud, we may be sure, said little, for he was on the worst of terms with the Montholons, and had wished to challenge the Count to a duel. Napoleon interfered. In the *salon*, during the interval before dinner, he apostrophized his followers: "You followed me with the view of cheering my captivity. Be brothers, then; otherwise you are merely a trial to me. You talk of fighting, and that before my face. I am no longer then the object of your attention. You forget that the observation of foreigners is fixed on you."

The quarrels at Longwood annoyed Napoleon often, but they also amused him sometimes, and, in so far as they arose from jealousy of his favours, they were pleasing to his vanity, and he even deliberately provoked them. He would snub one and smile on another, and then change the parts, in order to taste and enjoy his power. His terrible policy, *divide et impera*, which had helped him to conquer Europe, worked havoc in the hot interior of Longwood.

On the 29th April Napoleon remained in his rooms all day, declining to see O'Meara or even the Grand Marshal. He alleged indisposition, but told Las Cases he was perfectly well, that he had taken a fancy to remain alone reading, and the time had passed quickly and agreeably.

On the 30th Sir Hudson Lowe called to make enquiries. He found Napoleon reclining on a couch in the small sitting-room, in his dressing-gown. He was looking sallow and bloated. He did not rise, and invited the Governor to take a chair. Lowe began with polite enquiries after Napoleon's health, and said he had come to offer the services of Dr. Baxter, in addition to O'Meara. "I want no doctors," was the curt reply. Napoleon then proceeded to speak with warmth of the Convention of the 2nd August, a copy of which Lowe had sent him; he declared that he gave himself up to England and to no other Power, though he would have done better to surrender himself to Russia, or Austria. He cared nothing for the new house and furniture which Lowe said were being sent out for him. "Let them send me a coffin; a couple of balls in the head is all that is necessary. What does it signify to me whether I lie on a velvet couch or on fustian? You and I, sir, are soldiers; we know how to value such things. You have been in my native city, perhaps in the very house occupied by my family. Though it was not the worst on the island, though I have no reason to be ashamed of my family circumstances, you know what they were. Though I have occupied a throne, and have disposed of crowns, I have not forgotten my first condition." He complained of the various restrictions, especially of the limits, and when Lowe said they were prescribed by his Government, Napoleon said, "If you cannot give me a greater range you can do nothing for me." Lowe thereupon observed: "This is the consequence of transmitting instructions from so great a distance, and with regard to a person of whom those who draw up the instructions know so little." The remark is recorded by Las Cases, but does not find a place in Lowe's report to Lord Bathurst. Lowe could not inform Lord Bathurst that his short experience on the spot had already placed him in a position of superior knowledge of the conditions.

This interview was of a friendly character. Napoleon

treated Lowe with politeness, assuming throughout that his intentions were good and considerate, though his instructions were harsh; and Lowe received the complaints in a sympathetic manner. He asked whether he had unconsciously committed any faults. "No, Sir," was the reply, "we complain of nothing since your arrival. Yet one act has offended us, and that is your inspection of the domestics"; when Lowe explained, he said, "Well, that is now over."

But when Lowe had departed, Napoleon perceived, on reflection, that he could not by any artful flattery win him over. He told his followers that there was nothing to be hoped for from the new Governor. Having come to that definite conclusion, Napoleon made no further attempt at cajolery. It was to be war in the future.

He remained secluded in his rooms. The Montholons, when questioned, both declared that he was very unwell, and had been vomiting, while a valet said there was nothing the matter, he had been dictating all the night. Las Cases saw Napoleon on the 1st May, the "third day of the Emperor's seclusion," and he writes in his journal: "He did not appear to have been indisposed, and even said he was very well."

On the 3rd May, the fifth day of consecutive seclusion, Sir Hudson Lowe was driven to protest. Accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade, he called upon Bertrand at Hutt's Gate. He then insisted on "the establishment of three points, which had been either before not sufficiently specific or had fallen into partial disuse, viz.:

"1st. The necessity of General Bonaparte showing himself twice a day, morning and evening, or giving by some other means certain indications of his actual presence in the house.

"2nd. The prohibition of communication with merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, except through the medium of a third person.

"3rd. The prevention of any stranger seeing him except with the Governor's previous authority."

These rules had been already made by Sir George Cockburn, but with regard to visitors he had relaxed the regulation, allowing a written pass from Bertrand to suffice for entry into Longwood. Cockburn was only a locum tenens. He expected Lowe to relieve him some time before he did so, and regarded all his regulations as temporary expedients, which might at any moment be changed by the new Governor. He told Sir Hudson Lowe that the permission with regard to Bertrand's passes would not have been continued, as he found it was being abused. Las Cases, indeed, accused Cockburn of prohibiting all visits without a letter from him.

Napoleon fastened on the Governor's attitude towards O'Meara as furnishing the means of retaliation. O'Meara would naturally resent the Governor's attempt to introduce Baxter with the view of his ultimately taking his place. Baxter had been in the Corsican Rangers, and had earned the good opinion of Lowe; like O'Meara, he spoke Italian, the language Napoleon preferred to use; and he was in the Army Medical Service, from which O'Meara had been dismissed, and was therefore under the immediate authority of the Governor. Cockburn had already withdrawn his confidence from O'Meara. He had at first allowed him to take the place of the orderly officer with Napoleon when outside the limits, but had afterwards found reason to distrust him, and had revoked the permission. Baxter had an excellent reputation as a man and as a physician, and was obviously more suitable than O'Meara to attend upon Napoleon, under the orders of a military officer.

Napoleon was now looking to complaints of the climate and of the injury it was doing to his health, for his main hope of obtaining a change of residence. The first thing to do was to win over O'Meara. He sent for the surgeon, and had with him a serious discussion, on the 5th May, 1816, which was renewed on the 6th.

He began by informing O'Meara that Lowe was going to remove him and to substitute Baxter, with the object of

having his prisoner poisoned. He afterwards repeated this accusation many times. To O'Meara: "I could suppose nothing else than that he was sent to poison me. . . . What a *coglione* (fool) to think that a man in my situation would take a surgeon selected and sent to him by his jailor. Being sent by him I could have no sure idea that he was not come for the purpose of poisoning me." To Las Cases: "What a mean and sinister face is that of the Governor. One would not drink one's coffee if a man of that type had been near it even for an instant. Perhaps they have sent me something worse than a jailor."[1] Balmain reported to his Government: "On each occasion that Sir Hudson Lowe proposed to send him a physician, Napoleon replied: 'Only a fool accepts a physician at the hands of his enemy.'"[2]

Napoleon now always spoke of Baxter as "the poisoner," though to the doctor himself he was polite and affable. When some "Notes" appeared in "The Morning Chronicle" attributing the Emperor's objection to Baxter to that surgeon's association with the Corsican Rangers, Baxter wrote on the 5th January, 1819, to Lowe: "The repugnance to me from the circumstance of my having been surgeon to the Corsican Regiment, I am certain is without any foundation. Long anterior to this period, and at my first interview with N. Bonaparte, he told me himself, amongst the first observations he made, that he understood I had been surgeon to the Corsican Regiment, under Sir H. Lowe; he entered into a discourse about the corps, and asked the names of the officers, several of which he seemed to recollect. This was an interview of some length, and took place by his own appointment, on the 24th June. I understood afterwards from Mr. O'Meara, Count Bertrand and Count Las Cases, that N. Bonaparte had conceived a very favourable opinion of me, and that he had repeatedly expressed himself to that effect. These facts will show how little probability there is in the

[1] B.M., 20230, p. 55. O'Meara's diary, "Century Magazine," February, 1900, pp. 617, 620.

[2] "Revue Bleu," 1897, p. 683.

'tirade' against the surgeon of the Corsicans, and of his repugnance of me, on account of my having filled that situation."[1]

This letter should dispose of the supposition, which has long been current, that Sir Hudson Lowe himself was disliked by Napoleon on account of his connection with the Corsican Rangers. It would have been quite unlike the Emperor to harbour so petty a feeling.

Napoleon then asked O'Meara whether he considered himself a prison surgeon, whose duty it was to repeat every remark of the prisoner, and all that went on in the prison, or as the substitute of Maingault, the Emperor's personal attendant. The question was a natural one, and no British officer should have been placed in the difficult position of having to answer it. Napoleon had already, in the days of Sir George Cockburn, attempted to buy O'Meara, who wrote to Finlaison on the 16th March, 1816: "If the Government does not choose to give me what Bonaparte offered me himself, viz. francs 12,000, and repeated once in a letter from General Montholon which has been forwarded to the Admiralty, I must decline holding the situation any longer."[2] There had not been time to receive an answer to that demand. Napoleon now offered him £240 a year in addition to his pay of £365, which would give him £605 a year altogether. He told O'Meara plainly that if he considered it his duty to report the conversations that passed between them to the Governor, he would decline to receive him as his medical attendant.

O'Meara was to choose between Lowe and Napoleon, British pay and French pay. If he declined Napoleon's overtures, and adhered to his duty as a British officer, Napoleon would dismiss him, and he would have to return to his former obscure career. If he remained by the side of the greatest figure of the age, he would continue to be a person of importance in the world, and was assured of a

[1] B.M., 20125, p. 33. [2] *Ibid.*, 20216, p. 6.

permanent renown; he did not believe Sir Hudson Lowe would venture to remove him, so long as Napoleon declared he would receive no other medical attendant; thus he seemed to be the indispensable man; he knew he had protectors at the Admiralty; and, finally, he had confidence in his ability to keep well with both parties. His answer to Napoleon was that he considered himself the surgeon of the Emperor, and not a prison surgeon; and he promised that he would not reveal to Sir Hudson Lowe the conversation of Napoleon, unless it touched upon projects of escape. Napoleon concluded that he had O'Meara on his side, and he resumed his former outings, his rides, drives in the wood, and walks in the garden, to the relief of the orderly officer, who was able to send in the daily report that he had seen the prisoner.

O'Meara refused, at the time, Napoleon's bribe. On the 6th August he wrote to Lowe informing him of the money offer, and reporting that he had rejected it on the ground that, as a British officer, it would not be honourable "to receive pay from a foreign captive"; and he concluded with a petition for an increase of salary. In this way he obtained from the Governor an increase from £365 to £520. Later on, as we shall see, he was in the pay of both sides. As yet, however, he was acting the part of a British officer, making reports to Sir Hudson Lowe or Sir Thomas Reade of whatever he considered the Government should be informed, in spite of his promise to Napoleon that he would not do so. That compact was, in turn, kept secret from the Governor. While he was thus betraying Napoleon to Lowe, and Lowe to Napoleon, he was also betraying them both to the British Cabinet by his letters to Mr. Finlaison, intended for the perusal of the First Lord of the Admiralty and the other Ministers.

From this time Napoleon's remarks to O'Meara contained much abuse of Lowe, which O'Meara recorded with pleasure in his diary.[1] The epithets appear so often that one rather

[1] "Century Magazine," February, March, April, 1900.

wonders he had the patience to transcribe them afresh every day. He must have enjoyed hearing Lowe attacked, and Napoleon must have perceived that his diatribes were relished. The diary shows that while O'Meara was at this early period supposed to be on good terms with Lowe, he already nourished a grudge against him for having attempted the substitution of Baxter. It is on the 5th May, the day of the secret compact with Napoleon, that O'Meara records the first abuse of Lowe. "I am convinced," said Napoleon to O'Meara, "that this Governor, this chief of jailors, has been sent out to poison me, or put me to death some way or another, or under some pretext, by Lord Castlereagh. I have seen Russians, Prussians, Arabs, Cossacks, Tartars, Spaniards, Persians, Turks, and never in my life before did I behold so ill-favoured and forbidding a countenance, or so down and horrid a look. He carries crime imprinted on his countenance." Again, some days later: "I cannot accustom myself to that gallows-like visage of the Governor. I wish he would never come to see me. I know that he has orders to make away with me some way or another. . . . I have never seen a countenance which gives me such an idea of atrocity as his. It makes me almost shudder to look at him. . . . I wonder that the English Government, out of all their officers and statesmen, could not select a man of some little talent to put about me, instead of an uneasy imbecile, a *fainéant*, a man who has not even the semblance of an Englishman. I think that if even this conversation respecting him was made known to the English Government he would be removed. The greatest insult they could have offered me was sending such a man as Governor here." On another day he thinks the Governor more '*coglione*' (fool) and '*imbecille*' (imbecile) than '*cattivo*' (wicked); and then he returns "to *cattivo uomo, uomo di cattivo cuore e di cattiva testa*" (a bad man, a man of bad heart and bad mind). . . . "He looks like a man who always had the itch, perpetually uneasy and restless." Then he is '*il piu tristo uomo*' (the saddest of men), even worse than the island;

a '*capo di sbirri*' (chief of spies or police); '*sbirro Siciliano, Calabrese*' (Sicilian spy, Calabrian); '*galeriano*' (keeper of galley-slaves); '*boja*' (hangman); '*sciocone*' (great fool); '*cassa ghiaccio*' (ice-box).

It was to O'Meara in particular that Napoleon abused Lowe, because he knew that O'Meara had his cause of resentment against the Governor, and he wanted O'Meara to report the remarks to the British Government; and the Italian adjectives of objurgation are more expressive than their French equivalents. Napoleon made similar remarks to his French followers, but not in the same quantity, nor with equal gusto.

Lady Loudon and Moira, wife of the Governor-General of India, arrived at St. Helena, on her way to England, and was staying at Plantation House. Lowe sent Bertrand the following note: "Should the arrangements of General Bonaparte admit it, Sir Hudson and Lady Lowe would feel gratified in the honour of his company to meet the Countess at dinner on Monday next at six o'clock. They request Count Bertrand would have the goodness to make known this invitation to him, and forward his reply."

To this Bertrand replied: "Count Bertrand has the honour to present his compliments to General Sir Hudson Lowe, and to thank him for the trouble he has been pleased to take to inform him of the arrival in this island of the Countess Loudon; he will be happy to pay his respects to her. Count Bertrand has communicated the note of Sir Hudson to the Emperor, who has not made any reply to it." Napoleon said to Bertrand, "It is too absurd; make no reply."

Napoleon would accept no invitation of any sort, from anybody, which was addressed to General Bonaparte; and the form of this invitation could be regarded as a condescension towards a man who but recently had been the greatest monarch in the world. But too much has been made of this well-intentioned, though tactless note. Sir George Cockburn had invited Napoleon to dinner, verbally, and he

had sent to "General Bonaparte" a formal card of invitation to a ball. On learning that this procedure had been regarded as most insulting, Sir Hudson Lowe supposed that it was the stilted and impersonal form that had been found so offensive, and that a personal invitation in writing would be free from objection. The clamour that has been made about Lowe's action and the indifference shown to Cockburn's, which was certainly the less polite of the two, are due to the malicious slanders published against Sir Hudson.

On the 14th, Napoleon received a number of English travellers who had arrived with Lady Moira, amongst them being Mr. Strange, brother-in-law to Lord Melville; Sir William Burroughs, a Judge of Calcutta; and one of Lord Moira's aides-de-camp. Napoleon wished to make a favourable impression, more especially on the relative of the First Lord of the Admiralty. He sent, through Lord Moira's A.D.C., the message: "Tell Lady Moira that if she had been within the Longwood limits I would have gone to pay my court to her." It is most improbable that he would have called at the Governor's official residence on any pretext whatever, if it had been within the limits.

The woodwork and furniture for the new house arrived from England in the *Adamant* on the 6th May.[1] The house was to be built of stone according to a plan which had been sent out from England as early as the 14th September, 1815.[2] Before launching out on building operations, Lowe desired to ascertain Napoleon's wishes, and arranged through Bertrand for an interview with Napoleon to discuss the subject. He went up to Longwood on the 16th May. He was ushered into the *salon* where he found Napoleon, standing, with his hat under his left arm. It was to be a very different reception from the previous one, when the game of blarney was being played. Napoleon afterwards told Las Cases that he received Lowe "with a stormy expression, his head lowered and his eye glaring."

[1] B.M., 20115, p. 135. [2] *Ibid.*, 20114, pp. 244–5.

Finding that Napoleon declined to speak, and merely continued to look ferocious, Lowe was constrained to begin. He said that the materials had arrived from England for building a new house, and he would be glad to know whether Napoleon had any desires on the subject. Napoleon continued to glare at him in silence. Lowe bravely continued: "I have conceived, Sir, that possibly the addition of two or three good rooms to your present house, with other improvements to it, might add to your convenience in less time than by constructing a new building." Then the storm broke. Las Cases, who was in the next room, "heard by the sound of the voice of the Emperor that he was animated, and that there was a hot scene. The audience was long and very tempestuous." Las Cases did not hear Lowe's voice raised in return; the Governor kept his temper, in spite of the gross provocation to which he was subjected. In substance Napoleon roared out that Lowe had been sent to kill him; that he would never allow anybody to enter his chamber (no attempt had been made to do so); that it was an insult to invite him to dinner and to call him General Bonaparte. Lowe, when he got a chance, replied, "Sir, I have not come here to receive lessons." "It is not for want of needing them," said Napoleon. "Sir," Lowe went on, "I have not come here to be insulted, but to treat of an affair which concerns you more than it does me. If you are not disposed to speak about it, I will retire." "I had no intention to insult you, sir, but how have you treated me? Has it been in a way becoming a soldier?" "Sir, I am a soldier to perform the duties I owe to my country in conformity with its customs, and not according to the mode of other countries. I am performing my duty, and am indifferent to anything besides."

After some further complaints Napoleon gave way to another violent outburst. "Shall I tell you the truth, sir? Yes, sir, shall I tell you the truth? I believe that you have received orders to do any and every thing." Lowe retained

his self-control; he merely asked to be allowed, before retiring, to present the military secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, who had arrived in the *Adamant*, and was in attendance in the entrance-room, but Napoleon, with a final growl, said, "I cannot receive him at present; when one is insulted, one is not in a humour to see any one." Sir Hudson Lowe thereupon bowed and retired.

Napoleon said in the evening to Las Cases, "They will kill me here. It is certain." The remark was not mere affectation. His faith in the English character was strong, but he looked upon Sir Hudson Lowe, whose career had not been passed among British soldiers, as un-English, and believed that, as Cipriani asserted, Lowe had been a "*capo di sbirri*" (organizer of spies). And he could not shake off the supposition, natural to a Corsican, that the British Government must have given Lowe instructions to put an end to his prisoner, in one way or another. Under the influence of these feelings, and irritated by the calmness of Sir Hudson Lowe, he lost his temper completely. He said to Las Cases: "My anger must have been powerfully excited, for I felt the twitching of my left cheek. That is a marked sign with me, and it has not happened to me for a long time."

Napoleon afterwards admitted and regretted the grossness of his behaviour, so foreign to the character of an Emperor. Montholon writes: "On my observing that perhaps we had to reproach ourselves with keeping up the fire rather than trying to extinguish it, for it was, in fact, the quarrel of the *pot de terre contre le pot de fer*, the Emperor said to us: 'I have treated him very ill, I allow, and I can find no justification except in my horrible situation. If at the Tuileries I had given way to such an outburst of bad temper I should have considered myself obliged to make reparation.'" Las Cases writes to the same effect: "'I behaved very ill to him, no doubt,' said the Emperor, 'and nothing but my present situation could excuse me; but I was in a bad temper and could not help it; I should blush for it in any other

NAPOLEON IN MAY, 1816

situation. Had such a scene taken place at the Tuileries I should have felt myself bound in conscience to make some atonement. Never during the period of my power did I speak harshly to any person without afterwards saying something to make amends. But on this occasion I uttered not a syllable of conciliation, and I had no wish to do so. However, the Governor proved himself very insensible to my severity; his feelings did not seem hurt. I should have liked, for his sake, to have seen him show a little anger, or slam the door violently after him when he went away. This would at least have shown that there was some spring and elasticity about him, but I found nothing of the kind.' "

It is typical of the whole St. Helena controversy that, on the false and malicious assertions of the Longwood traducers, Sir Hudson Lowe should go down to posterity as the man who in interviews with Napoleon lost his temper and used violent language; whereas he irritated Napoleon beyond endurance precisely because he remained perfectly calm and correct throughout. As Seaton says: "Those who now believe that Sir Hudson Lowe was guilty of harshness of temper and coarseness of language will believe almost anything." But the world has in good faith been taught to believe this, and the prejudice against Sir Hudson Lowe, which still persists, has been created by these false accusations.

After all, Sir Hudson Lowe had the rights of a human being; his *amour propre* should not be entirely ignored. If Napoleon was afterwards ashamed of his brutality, there must have been ample cause, and the unfortunate man who was subjected to such treatment, without being permitted to offer any retaliation, deserves our sympathy. Few of us would have behaved as well as he did.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMMISSIONERS

ON the 19th May the Governor of Java, afterwards so well known as Sir Stamford Raffles, who was on his way to England from the East, went up with Captain Travers, of the *Ganges*, to Longwood, where they were received by Napoleon.

They found him walking in the garden, talking to Countess Bertrand, attended by Gourgaud, Bertrand, the two Las Cases, and Piontkowski, who were all bare-headed. Raffles was very unfavourably impressed. He wrote to a friend: "His manner was abrupt, rude, and authoritative, and the most ungentlemanly that I ever witnessed." Travers was of the same opinion: "On our approaching, Napoleon turned quickly round to receive us, and, taking off his hat, put it under his arm. His reception of us was not only not dignified or graceful, but absolutely vulgar and authoritative. He put a series of questions to Mr. Raffles in such quick succession as to render it impossible to reply to one before another was put. . . . During the whole time of our interview, as Napoleon remained uncovered, common politeness obliged us to keep our hats in our hands: and at no time was it found necessary to give him any title, either of General or Emperor."[1]

On the same day Napoleon received Warden, surgeon of the *Northumberland*, and took him for a drive. Warden's experience was very different from that of Raffles and his

[1] "The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles," by Demetrius Boulger, p. 247.

party. "I declare," says Warden,[1] "if it had been a party in a jaunting-car to a country fair in Ireland there would not have been more mirth, ease, and affability. The carriage drove off at a pretty round pace, and the pleasantry of Napoleon seemed to keep pace with it. He began to talk English, and, having thrown his arm half-round Madame Bertrand's neck, he exclaimed, addressing himself to me, 'This is my mistress,' while the lady was endeavouring to extricate herself, and the Count her husband was bursting with laughter. He then asked if he had made a mistake, and being informed of the English interpretation of the word, he cried out, 'Oh, no, no—I say my friend, my love. No, not love; my friend, my friend.' The fact was that Madame Bertrand had been indisposed for several days, and he wished to rally her spirits, as well as to give an unreserved ease to the conversation. In short, to use a well-known English phrase, he was the life of the party. The circuitous windings of the ride at Longwood may extend to five or six miles."

Warden was always on the best of terms with the Longwood circle. He had another interview with Napoleon before his departure on the *Northumberland*, on the 19th June. "This was the last visit I paid to Napoleon," he writes, "and when I took leave of him he rose from his chair and said, 'I wish you health and happiness and a safe voyage to your country, where I hope you will find your friends in health and ready to receive you.' I had been uniformly treated with such respectful kindness, and, in some degree, with such partial confidence by General Bertrand, M. de Las Cases, and, indeed, by every one of the suite, that I could not take my leave of them without a considerable degree of sensibility."

It is pleasant to read of undisturbed friendly relations

[1] Letters written on board H.M.S. *Northumberland* and at St. Helena, 1816. Reprinted in "Napoleon and his Fellow Travellers," by C. K. Shorter, p. 266.

between at least one British official and the French. Warden's letters have been roundly abused both by the admirers and the detractors of Napoleon, and there could be no greater proof of the heated passions of both sides, for they appear to be inoffensive enough.

On the 28th May, the weather being very pleasant, it was hoped that Napoleon would take a ride. He complained that to ride backwards and forwards within the limits was like being confined in a riding school, and he could not endure it. However, he did go for a long ride with Las Cases and Gourgaud, and enjoyed it. They went some way up Flagstaff Hill, and returned by the camp at Deadwood for the first time.[1] The followers frequently urged their master to take horse exercise, but, as at Elba, he had no desire to ride except by way of exploration over new country. Novelty was essential for him. He said he preferred to walk in the garden and chat. "We are very well here," he remarked, "we will have tents pitched on this spot."

Files of the "Journal des Débats" down to the 5th March arrived on the 29th May, and were sent up to Longwood. Napoleon was deep in perusal of the French papers when Bertrand brought him a letter which had just arrived, addressed to "l'Empereur." He read it once, and sighed, read it again, and then tore it up, and threw the pieces under the table. It was from his mother, in the handwriting of Cardinal Fesch. It had arrived open, which Napoleon denounced as great barbarity. But he expected his followers to let him see their letters. Piontkowski by the same mail received a letter from his wife. Montholon went to him and said that the Emperor had ordered the letter to be delivered to him to read. Piontkowski, in great trepidation, had the courage to refuse, saying that letters from a wife to a husband are regarded as secret.[2] Napoleon then declared that he had never authorized Montholon to make any such demand,

[1] B.M., 20115, p. 176.
[2] Diary of O'Meara, "Century Magazine," February, 1900, p. 626.

but he made a similar disclaimer on another occasion, and was afterwards obliged to admit that the original charge had been justified. Piontkowski was rather a mysterious person, and Napoleon had a special desire to see his correspondence.

When he was in power Napoleon himself read a great many private letters which had been opened at his command, without the knowledge of the correspondents. As a prisoner, it was obviously necessary that his correspondence should be supervised.

On the 15th June Napoleon received a box from China. The Hon. John Elphinstone, late President of the E.I.C. established in China, sent it as a present to Napoleon in acknowledgment of the care he had taken of his brother, Captain Elphinstone, when wounded at Waterloo. The box contained shawls and other Eastern goods, which were much appreciated.

On the 17th June the *Newcastle*, frigate, arrived, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, K.C.B., who came to succeed Sir George Cockburn in command of the naval station of the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena. Pulteney Malcolm was the son of George Malcolm, of Burnfoot, Dumfriesshire, and was born in 1768, a year before Napoleon.[1] Several of his brothers distinguished themselves in the public service; including himself, four of the family were knighted. He entered the navy at the age of ten. He commanded at various times the *Victorious*, *Royal Sovereign*, *Kent*, *Renown*, *Donegal*, and *Royal Oak*. In 1813 he obtained flag rank, and took part in the attack on New Orleans. In 1815 he was in command of the fleet which supported the British Army in Flanders. He retained the St. Helena appointment for about a year. In 1828 he was Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean.

Lady Malcolm was the daughter of the Hon. William

[1] "A Diary of St. Helena: the Journal of Lady Malcolm," edited by Sir Arthur Wilson, 1899.

Elphinstone, and granddaughter of Lord Elphinstone. She was a niece of Lord Keith.

The *Newcastle* brought a copy of the "Act for the more effectually detaining in custody Napoleon Buonaparte," dated the 11th April, 1816, and the "Warrant" to Sir Hudson Lowe, issued on the 12th April, 1816, "safely to detain and keep the said Napoleon Buonaparte as a prisoner of war." By the same ship came Count Balmain and the Marquis de Montchenu, the Russian and French Commissioners, appointed by virtue of the Convention of the 2nd August, 1815. The Austrian Commissioner, Baron Sturmer, arrived on the *Orontes* a day later, on the 18th June, 1816.

The Convention, signed at Paris on the 2nd August, 1815, was in the following terms: "Napoleon Buonaparte being in the power of the Allied Sovereigns, their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, have agreed, in virtue of the stipulations of the treaty of the 25th March, 1815, upon the measures most proper to render all enterprise impossible, on his part, against the repose of Europe.

"Article 1. Napoleon Buonaparte is considered by the Powers who have signed the treaty of the 25th March last as their prisoner.

"2. His custody is especially intrusted to the British Government. The choice of the place, and of the measures which can best secure the object of the present stipulation, is reserved to his Britannic Majesty.

"3. The Imperial Courts of Austria and of Russia, and the Royal Court of Prussia, are to appoint Commissioners to proceed to and abide at the place which the Government of his Britannic Majesty shall have assigned for the residence of Napoleon Buonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his custody, will assure themselves of his presence.

"4. His Most Christian Majesty is to be invited, in the

EUROPE'S MANDATE TO ENGLAND, AS REFLECTED IN A FRENCH CARICATURE OF AUGUST, 1815

name of the four above-mentioned Courts, to send in the like manner, a French Commissioner to the place of detention of Napoleon Buonaparte."

Prussia did not send a Commissioner.

The British Government did not welcome the appointment of these Commissioners. Lord Liverpool wrote to Lord Castlereagh that as they would have nothing to do they would probably quarrel, and he suggested that each Power should alternately have one Commissioner for a year on the island, which would sufficiently establish the general principle with the least trouble and expense.[1]

Lord Bathurst on the 15th September, 1815, wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe that the Commissioners would "reside in St. Helena, in order that these Powers may receive from time to time direct reports of the security of Bonaparte's person. These Commissioners will not be furnished with any power to interfere in the measures you may find it expedient to pursue. They will be simply the correspondents of their respective Courts."

As Napoleon had fallen into British hands Ministers would have been entitled to treat him as the prisoner of England alone, and this is what they wished to do, but it would not have satisfied the Allies. The Continental Powers were determined that there should be no possibility of a repetition of the Campbell failure at Elba. They sent Commissioners to St. Helena to make sure of the ability, and the loyalty to Europe, of the British Governor of the island; to see that Sir Hudson Lowe did not make friends with Napoleon and was not duped by him. They were at St. Helena to watch, not only the common enemy, but the British guardian.

It had to be supposed that so long as Napoleon was alive there was always a possibility that he might reappear in Europe. If such an event occurred the Convention of the 2nd August, and the presence of representatives of the Continental Powers on the island of St. Helena, would keep

[1] "Castlereagh's Letters," 3rd series, vol. ii, pp. 434, 453.

up the anti-Napoleonic Alliance, and the Powers, with or without England, would find themselves automatically still united in their opposition to the disturber of " the repose of Europe."

The presence of the Commissioners acted also as a moral support to England, as regards the details of the regulations in force to prevent the prisoner's escape.

The Commissioners had also to observe each other. There was to be no repetition of the discord at the Congress of Vienna, when one of the Powers threatened to let loose the great soldier from Elba, unless its demands were complied with.

Sir Hudson Lowe, for his part, had to be on his guard against any possible collusion between the Commissioners and the Longwood inmates. As Bathurst observed, in a letter to Lowe which left England with the Commissioners, on the 15th April, 1816, there was a likelihood of a " cabal " between the French and the Commissioners, " who will have too little to do where they are going to not to be tempted to do a little mischief. You will encourage them to amuse themselves by going to the Cape by way of change of scene, and engage to furnish them and their Court with a regular account of the state of your prisoner."

The position was delicate and disagreeable for all concerned, and added much to the difficulties of Sir Hudson Lowe. Cockburn had been spared this complication. Lowe had to be constantly on the watch to prevent any undue association between any of the Commissioners and any member of the Longwood circle. Thus the Governor, the Commissioners, and the French at Longwood were engaged in a perpetual course of spying, and counterspying, upon each other. For the Commissioners and Napoleon the game was at least a method of passing the weary hours. For Sir Hudson Lowe it meant anxiety, work, quarrels, and loss of reputation.

The Commissioners, finding their actions watched and their

freedom curtailed, however necessary such treatment may have been, were naturally inclined to complain of the Governor, and from that standpoint of hostility were led to evade the regulations. Then, when Lowe remonstrated, they gave him a bad character, and the moral influence of the reputedly impartial representatives of the Great Powers, told heavily against the harassed Governor, who was doing no more than his plain duty.

The Commissioners should have been withdrawn when they had achieved the object of their appearance, which was to make it clear that Napoleon was the prisoner of the Powers, to give England moral support, to test the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, and to ascertain that the conditions of the detention were suitable as regards the security, and the comfort, of the illustrious prisoner. To remain on indefinitely was merely to keep up the semblance of suspicion of the British Governor, and the British Government, when no such sentiment was entertained. As Schlitter observes: "In point of fact, without exercising any influence upon the surveillance of Napoleon, their mission achieved no result except to make unpleasantness with the Governor and embitter the lot of the banished Emperor."[1]

Napoleon said to O'Meara: "What folly it is to send those Commissioners out here. Without charge or responsibility, they will have nothing to do but to walk about the streets and creep up the rocks. The Prussian Government has displayed more judgment and saved its money." The expense was not great. The salaries at first were: Sturmer, £1200; Montchenu, £1200; and his secretary, Gors, £240; Balmain, £2000. All complained and obtained increases.

Napoleon realized that, however he might protest, the presence of the Commissioners did confer an international sanction to his detention; he showed himself, to his followers, in the privacy of Longwood, much affected by their arrival. There seemed now to be no hope whatever of a

[1] Schlitter, "Berichte aus St. Helena," p. 11.

return to Europe, save as the result of some great political upheaval.

The French Commissioner, Claude Marin Henri de Montchenu, was fifty-nine years of age, the oldest of all the principal characters, English or Continental, on the St. Helena stage. He belonged to an ancient and distinguished family, and the title of "Marquis," by which he was known, though not strictly correct, was accepted as a courtesy appreciation of the social standing of his ancestors. At the age of fifteen he was nominated to the Light Horse of the King's Horse Guards; from which he retired in 1785.[1] In 1792 he emigrated, returning to France, after Brumaire, at the end of 1799. It was his habit to say among his friends, with regard to the Emperor Napoleon: "When this man has fallen, I will supplicate the King, my master, to make me his jailor." In 1814 he went to Vienna, to present a petition, before the Congress, and then made the acquaintance of Talleyrand, who in the following year, on the 23rd September, 1815, gave him the St. Helena appointment, in the hope, it is said, that he would succeed in boring Napoleon into his grave.

Montchenu was regarded by the English as a buffoon. With his absurd boasting, his strange gallantry, his airs and graces, he was a caricature of the *ancien régime*. The English sailors called him "old munch-enough" from his hearty appetite;[2] while his habit of accepting invitations and offering no return earned him the name of the "Marquis de Montez-chez-nous."

Napoleon spoke with great contempt of him at first. He said to O'Meara: "For the credit of France they ought to have sent out amongst the English some person possessed of a little talent, instead of an old imbecile." He called him a "*povero vecchio coglione*" (poor old fool). When he heard that the Marquis had published in a French paper the state-

[1] "Autour de Sainte-Hélène," by Frédéric Masson, vol. ii.
[2] Vernon, p. 173.

LAS CASES NAPOLEON BERTRAND

From a water-colour by Denzil Ibbetson

ment, that on receiving an invitation to dine at Longwood, he had replied that he had been sent to St. Helena to guard Napoleon, not to dine with him, the Emperor said : " These old French *noblesse* are capable of any *bêtise*. He is worthy of being one of the *grande naissance* of France." But when it was hoped to make a friend of the representative of France the Longwood attitude was appreciative. Montholon, from the first, speaks of Montchenu in terms of praise :[1] and Gourgaud reports that at a conversation during dinner at Longwood, " There is talk about M. de Montchenu, he seems a good fellow, not so ridiculous as the English find him."[2]

Vernon describes him as " a fine specimen of the *ancien régime*, a handsome portly old gentleman, with a long *queue*. It was worth while to see him mounted on his long-tailed, ambling black horse. No posture master could be more correct in all his attitudes. His little acts of gallantry were not exactly suited to the English taste, but being good-humoured they were tolerated."[3] On one occasion he crept behind a lady who was sewing, and cut off a lock of her hair. He sent a love letter of eight pages to Lady Lowe. He tried to kiss his housekeeper, Mrs. Martin.

Sturmer reported to Metternich, on the 2nd September, 1816, that " France has not honoured herself in the choice of her Commissioner."[4] This, however, should be said : Montchenu was not, like Baron Sturmer, recalled by his Government ; he maintained good relations with Sir Hudson Lowe, without compromising his country ; and he was the only one of the Commissioners who remained at his post to the end.

Montchenu brought with him a secretary, Jean Claude Gors, a native of Lyons, aged twenty-five.[5] His father had been a Royalist, and the son's first public service was in the King's Bodyguard, in June, 1814. He accompanied Louis

[1] Récits, vol. i, p. 311.
[2] Journal, vol. i, p. 389.
[3] Vernon, p. 173.
[4] Schlitter, p. 36.
[5] " Un Lyonnais à Sainte-Hélène," by Gonnard. " Revue d'histoire de Lyon," May, 1903.

XVIII to the frontier in March, 1815, and returned with him after Waterloo. His salary at St. Helena was only £240 a year.

Soon after his arrival Gors was sent to the Cape to buy horses for Montchenu and himself. The expedition was unfortunate for him, as on his return he had a fall from his horse and broke his thigh. While the secretary was at the Cape, Montchenu demanded for himself an increase in his salary from 30,000 to 60,000 francs (£1200 to £2400). When Gors returned, and sent in his own application for a similar increase, he found that the favourable moment had passed, and Montchenu gave him but feeble support, reporting that 9000 francs (£360) would be sufficient for the secretary. Gors sent repeated complaints to Paris, enlarging upon the dearness of everything at St. Helena. He said that his linen was destroyed by the barbarous handling it received from the washerwomen, who had worn out fifty-three pants in a year and a half. He enclosed lists of the prices demanded on the island for various things, giving as a typical example, frequently repeated in his complaints, that an egg cost a shilling. Now Pierron bought eggs at five shillings a dozen, or fivepence each, all the year round, which shows that Gors overstated his case.

Exasperated at length at the lack of response from Paris, and the lukewarm support he obtained from Montchenu, Gors fell a victim to the disease which had become epidemic at St. Helena, which we may call clandestinitis. There were always fellow-patients to spread the infection. The Russian Commissioner, Count Balmain, agreed to forward the complaints of the secretary direct to the French Minister without the knowledge of his superior. Here was a secret correspondence, and a clandestine conspiracy, in which Sir Hudson Lowe was not concerned. It was the French Commissioner who had a rebel in his house, for Gors complained that Montchenu would not pay for his board and lodging when he was sent to Rio de Janeiro on the Commissioner's business;

that Montchenu, who was given a special allowance for the two horses of the establishment, would not pay for the keep of the secretary's horse; and that Montchenu, who made use of Gors' servant, would not contribute towards the feeding of the servant. The Marquis, wrote Gors, had a distressing bias in matters of money. "He does not die, therefore he can live; that has been throughout the logic of M. de Montchenu in my case," cries the poor secretary.

The instructions, dated the 16th December, 1816, of the duc de Richelieu to the French Commissioner, after stating that he should not interfere with the regulations as to the security of the prisoner, the British Government having taken all the responsibility, said: "The ordinary duties of M. de Montchenu will therefore consist solely in assuring himself with his own eyes of the existence of Bonaparte. When that fact has been proved in such manner as may have been agreed upon between the Commissioners and the Governor of the island, and on every occasion when that shall have been done, a report will be prepared in common which will be signed by all the Commissioners and countersigned by the Governor. . . . Each Power has prescribed to its Commissioners, as a rule, to concert with the Commissioners of the other Courts on every step he may think it desirable to take. M. de Montchenu should conform to this principle. . . . The Austrian and Russian Commissioners are ordered not to have any relations of any kind, either with Bonaparte or with any persons of his suite, and to inform the Governor of the island of any attempt which may be made to establish such relations. The same recommendation is made to M. de Montchenu."[1]

But, it may be asked, how was M. de Montchenu to assure himself "with his own eyes" of the presence of Napoleon if he was not to have "any relations of any kind" with him? Apparently the duc de Richelieu expected Napoleon to stand up and answer his name when called.

[1] Schlitter, p. 157.

The Russian Commissioner, Count Balmain, was descended from a Ramsay of Balmain, who left Scotland in 1685 with James II, and settled in Russia. The future St. Helena Commissioner was made a cornet in a cavalry regiment at the age of nine.[1] In 1801, aged twenty, already a captain, he was dismissed from the Army for having struck a policeman in a street row. On the accession of the Czar Alexander he entered the diplomatic service. In 1812 he had several important secret commissions confided to him by Alexander. In 1813 he served with the Russian troops in Germany. In 1815 he was attached to the Duke of Wellington, and remained with him through the Waterloo campaign.

Balmain was a man of ability, tact, and good sense. He had also a quality which was very precious and singularly rare at St. Helena, a sense of humour. His reports were read with interest and pleasure at the Russian Court.

The instructions, dated 18th September, 1815, to Balmain, began by saying that "The European Powers have resolved in a common agreement that Bonaparte should be sent to Saint Helena and kept in that island under the guardianship and the responsibility of England," and continued,—"It has been decided to give to this affair a European character, to establish the fact that Bonaparte is the prisoner of Europe, and to calm public opinion which has been so much agitated in every country, and it is with this view that the idea has been accepted to send to Saint Helena a Commissioner from each Power. To conform to the intention which I have explained, you will avoid with care any intervention or expression of opinion with regard to the measures adopted by the English Government and the English authorities. Your rôle will be purely passive. You will observe everything and report everything. You will bring to your relations with the English functionaries, a spirit of conciliation in keeping with the bonds of alliance and friendship which unite the two Courts. In your relations with Bonaparte you will

[1] "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène," by Frédéric Masson, p. 244.

exhibit the consideration and the propriety which so delicate a situation demands, and the personal regards which are his due." (The last words were underlined by the Czar Alexander.) "You will not avoid, nor will you seek for, opportunities of seeing him, and you will conform in this respect strictly to the regulations which will be made by the Governor. But you will keep a daily record of all that you may learn about him; you will above all apply yourself to write everything that may be of interest in conversations, whether with yourself, or with the Commissioners of the other Powers, or with other persons."[1]

The Russian was not ordered to make a point of seeing Napoleon, but it was evidently expected that he would have no difficulty in obtaining interviews, and he was to repeat the conversations. As for the "personal regards" which the Czar underlined, they were not to include the title or status of "Emperor." Alexander was indulging in a cheap form of magnanimity, for his special intervention meant nothing more than that Balmain was to be polite to the fallen man.

The Austrian Commissioner, Baron Sturmer, was the eldest son of the Austrian internuncio at Constantinople, who had been ennobled in 1813. He was a dragoman at Constantinople in 1811, and from Secretary of Legation had been promoted to the post of secretary and reporter to Prince Schwartzenberg in 1814; in that capacity he was present at the Congress of Chatillon. After the treaty of Paris, Sturmer married a young girl, aged seventeen, the daughter of one Boutet, an official employed at the French Ministry of War. Her father had given lessons in Latin and in writing to young Las Cases, and the daughter was hoping to obtain a position of governess with the introduction of Comte de Las Cases, when Baron Sturmer fell in love with her charming and attractive person. On her arrival at St. Helena with her husband, Las Cases endeavoured to renew the

[1] Schlitter, p. 159.

Excellency the Convention of the 2nd August, 1815, and has the honour, etc.

"21*st July*, 1816."

The Russian Commissioner wrote to Lowe on the same date:

"GENERAL,

"Ordered to reside at Saint Helena in the character of Russian Commissioner, you will find it natural that, like the majority of your compatriots, I should desire to see in his house the actual personage on whose account we are all here. I venture therefore to beg you to be so good as to afford me the opportunity, either by application to Count Bertrand or by some other means. Kindly arrange this affair with all delicacy and consideration, it being the desire of the Emperor, my master, that I should not in any event curtail the personal regard which is his due. Besides, I cannot, without going to Longwood, fulfil the duty imposed upon me, and the mere name of Commissioner, of which I must not deprive myself, cannot, it seems to me, make my presence there disagreeable."[1]

On the 23rd July the Governor accordingly wrote to Bertrand, asking permission to present the three Commissioners to Napoleon at an early date, and enclosing a copy of the Convention of the 2nd August, 1815. No reply was vouchsafed until, a month later, Lowe received the "Remonstrance," signed by Montholon, dated the 23rd August. A translation of that document will be found in the Appendix. Napoleon bestowed much care on its preparation, but it is full of fantastic falsehoods and transparent absurdities. His answer to the Governor's request to be allowed to present the Commissioners was, as had already been intimated, that he did not consider himself the prisoner of the Powers. He was

[1] Schlitter, p. 155.

illegally detained by England, and the other Powers had no authority over him.

The foreign Commissioners in due course made the acquaintance of all the members of the Longwood household—with one exception. Not one of them ever spoke to, or even saw, Napoleon. They never acquired the personal knowledge, the ocular proof, of his presence at St. Helena.

CHAPTER XIII

LOWE'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON

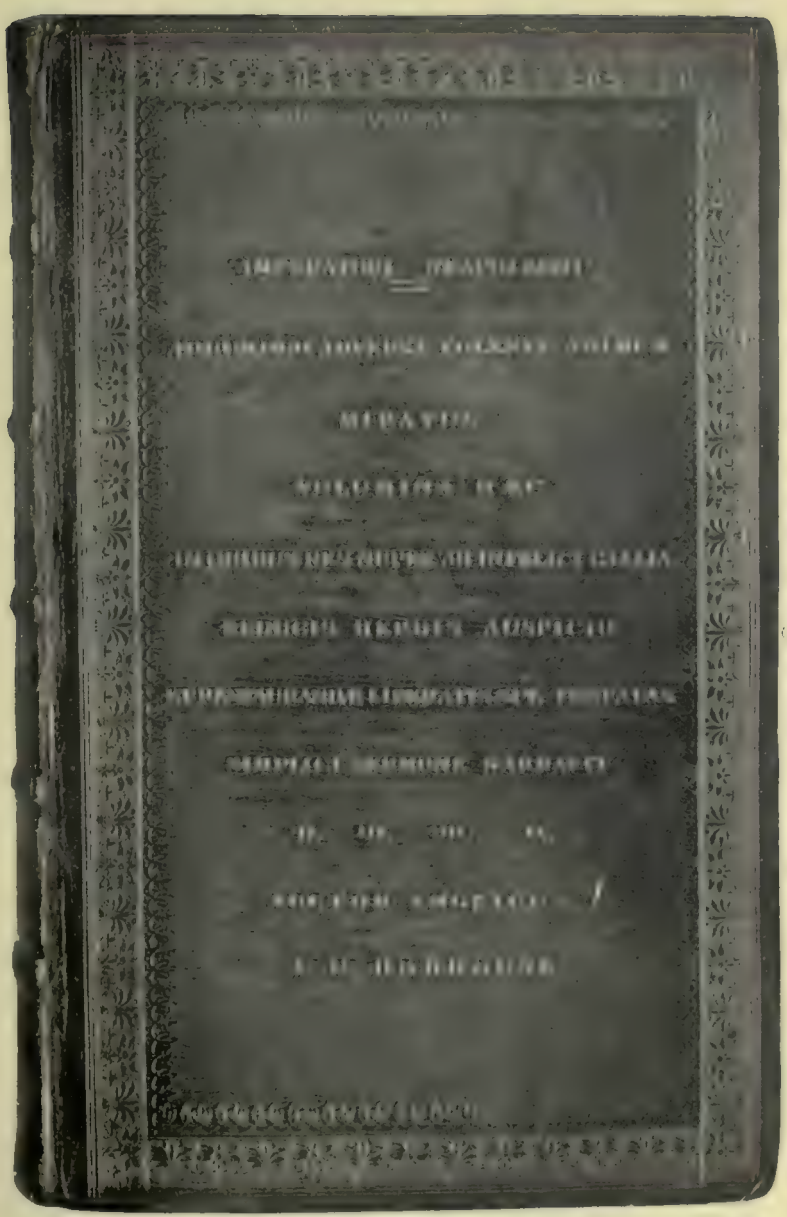
THE *Newcastle* brought a book by Mr. Hobhouse (afterwards Lord Broughton), "The Substance of some letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris during the last reign of the Emperor Napoleon," in two volumes, which was sent by the author to Sir Hudson Lowe, as a present for Napoleon.

The volumes were specially bound in dark blue morocco, with extra gilt edges. On the cover of the first volume there was a Latin inscription in gold letters:

IMPERATORI NEAPOLEONI.
AEQUUM QUO ADVERSA TULERIT ANIMUM
MIRATUS
VOLUMINA HAEC
IN QUIBUS RES NUPER AB INFELICI GALLIA
REDUCIS HEROIS AUSPICIO
ET RESTAURANDAE LIBERTATIS SPE TENTATAS
SIMPLICI SERMONE NARRAVIT
D. D. D. Q.
AUCTOR ANGLICUS
I. C. HOBHOUSE.

(J. C. Hobhouse, the English author, admiring the equanimity with which he bore adversity, has given as a gift, and dedicated to the Emperor Napoleon, these volumes, in which he has narrated in simple prose, the affairs lately attempted by unfortunate France, under the auspices of a hero returned from exile, and with the hope of the restoration of liberty.)

On the fly-leaf was written the following passage from Tacitus: "Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanorum immemor,



COVER OF ONE OF THE VOLUMES SENT TO NAPOLEON BY J. C. HOBHOUSE (AFTERWARDS LORD BROUGHTON)

Now in the collection of A. M. Broadley

quem non commoveret illa facies, . . . principem, et generis humani paulo ante dominum, relicta fortunae suae sede, per populum, per urbem, exire de imperio. Nihil tale viderant, nihil audierant . . . cedere se pacis et Reipublicae causa; retinerent tantum memoriam sui: fratremque, et conjugem, et innoxiam liberorum aetatem miserarentur."

Taciti. Histori. Lib. III. Cap. 68.

(Nor was there anyone so unmindful of human affairs whom that sight would not have moved. A prince and lord, not long before, of the human race, having abandoned the seat of his high estate, to depart through the midst of the people and the city, from his imperial position, nothing of the kind had they seen nor heard. That he was retiring for the sake of peace and the commonwealth, that they might retain only the recollection of himself, and take pity both on his brother, and his wife, and the innocent age of his children.)[1]

Pasted inside the cover of the book there is an unsigned memorandum, dated 7th April, 1847. The writer says that he was engaged by Mr. Triphook, the bookseller of Bond Street, to make a catalogue of Sir Hudson Lowe's library in 1828, and "he discovered in an ante-room adjoining the library, on the top of an empty bookcase, wrapped up in a sheet of brown paper, the volumes in question. The same day the circumstance was mentioned to Mr. Triphook, who, from having been many years Sir Hudson's bookseller, particularly enjoined the writer not to take any notice of the matter, as from doing so he could see no public good could arise but might do him mischief. In the year 1829 Sir Hudson sold the principal portion of his library at auction, which comprised twelve days' sale. These volumes were not included, but on the death of Sir Hudson, in the year 1844, the remainder of his library was sold by Messrs. Evans and Sons, Pall Mall, when the book made its appearance in the catalogue of the sale, without any comment from the talented

[1] Translations by the Rev. C. H. Mayo, Vicar of Long Burton, Sherborne.

auctioneer. They were then purchased by the late Colonel Gurwood, the Editor of the 'Wellington Dispatches,' who presented the work to Mr. Beaufoy." The volumes now belong to Mr. A. M. Broadley.

With the volumes Hobhouse sent to Sir Hudson the following note:

"WHITTON PARK,
"*April* 10, 1816.

"Mr. Hobhouse presents his best compliments to Sir Hudson Lowe, and trusts that he is not making a request which cannot be granted, in asking that the accompanying volumes may be presented to the ex-Emperor. Mr. Hobhouse hopes that Sir Hudson Lowe will honour his volumes with a perusal previously to forwarding them to Napoleon; and he takes the liberty of begging that, if it be thought improper to give them at all to the person for whom they are destined, Sir H. Lowe will afford them a place in his own library."

As Hobhouse had anticipated, the book was considered "improper" for delivery to Napoleon. In a despatch to Lord Bathurst describing an interview he had later with Napoleon, when Sir Pulteney Malcolm was present, Lowe said that Napoleon affirmed that Colonel Keating, Governor of Mauritius, who landed at St. Helena on his way to England, had told him of the arrival of the book, and that Lowe had boasted of his refusal to deliver it. Sir Pulteney Malcolm "interrupted him with a defence of my not having sent the book to him; said a book with such an inscription on it I could not send, and that I ought not to have been made the instrument of delivering it to him, and that Colonel Keating was wrong in mentioning such a thing to him." Lowe then explained that letters and parcels addressed to the "Emperor" were delivered, if they came from the Secretary of State's Office, and were from Napoleon's relatives or former subjects, but not from English persons. "I am personally

acquainted," he added, "with the gentleman who sent the book; he left it to my choice to send it or not, and I am certain he will fully approve of what I did in not sending it."[1]

The book was forwarded by a member of the English Opposition, with the intention of demonstrating the sympathy of that party for Napoleon, and making a point against the Government. It was an act of political warfare, an incident in the Whig policy of hitting out at the Government by supporting Napoleon, which proved so disastrous both to Reform and to the Emperor. Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Pulteney Malcolm had to deal with the effect at St. Helena, and they were bound to regard the incident as an attempt on the part of a prominent British Whig to encourage Napoleon in his contest with the British Government and its representative.

Colonel Keating denied that he had, as Napoleon alleged, told him about the holding back of the book. He wrote to a friend a long explanation,[2] in which he praised the Governor. "As long as Sir H. Lowe continues Governor, I will answer with my head for the safety and secure custody of Buonaparte. Sir Hudson, to great wisdom, perseverance, and judgment, adds the most conciliatory conduct, and a desire that everything consistent with the safety of B.'s person should be most strictly attended to in the most delicate manner, and with a proper regard to the feelings of the fallen man."

On the 18th June, 1816, Madame de Montholon gave birth to a daughter. As there was no Roman Catholic priest on the island, Mr. Vernon, the junior chaplain, baptized the child, who was given the names Napoléone Marie Hélène Charlotte.

Sir George Cockburn sailed, on the *Northumberland*, on the 19th June. It had been intended that he should remain in the naval command after the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe,[3]

[1] Lowe's account is corroborated in every particular by Malcolm. See "A Diary of St. Helena: The Journal of Lady Malcolm," p. 59.
[2] B.M., 20233, pp. 28–9. [3] *Ibid.*, 20114, p. 242.

but Napoleon's abuse of him induced the authorities to send another Admiral. Since the arrival of Lowe, Napoleon pretended that he had always liked Cockburn. It is a significant fact, which disposes of that pretence, that Sir George did not call upon him to bid farewell. This abstention was the subject of much remark on the island.

On the 20th Sir Hudson Lowe introduced the new Admiral, Sir Pultèney Malcolm, to Napoleon, who, with the evident intention of making amends for his brutality to Lowe on the 16th May, behaved with marked politeness and cordiality to both officers. Sir Pulteney presented Captain Meynell of the *Newcastle*, Captain Cochrane of the *Orontes*, his secretary Mr. Irving, and his flag-lieutenant Mr. Wright, and Lowe was on this occasion permitted to present Colonel Wynyard, Military Secretary.

Sir Pulteney Malcolm had been selected in the hope of propitiating Napoleon. Lady Malcolm belonged to the Elphinstone family, who were members of the Opposition, and one of whom had been succoured by Napoleon on the field of Waterloo. Sir Pulteney was a man of pleasing presence, and agreeable manners. Napoleon was much pleased with the new Admiral. He had always liked sailors in preference to soldiers. At Elba and during the voyage there he was on terms of warm friendship with Captain Thomas Ussher, R.N., while with Colonel Neil Campbell he was no more than polite. His maxim, *divide et impera*, made him play General Bingham against Admiral Cockburn, then General Lowe against Admiral Cockburn, followed by Cockburn against Lowe, and now Admiral Malcolm against Sir Hudson. Napoleon set himself with gusto to prevent the possibility of any loyal co-operation between the two services.

Six cases of books, which had been ordered when the *Northumberland* touched at Madeira on the way out, arrived in the *Newcastle*, and were sent up to Longwood. Napoleon was delighted, and assisted to open the boxes himself, with hammer and chisel. He had been longing for the *Moniteurs*

which had at last arrived, and he spent nearly the whole night in reading, and dictating to Marchand. Seven more cases arrived on the 24th June, and a further consignment on the 25th. Napoleon informed his followers that he had been reading steadily the *Moniteurs* of the period of the Constituent Assembly. He found them as diverting as a romance. Las Cases was jealous of their attraction. He thought his master fatigued himself with such continuous reading; when he had new books, he remained indoors and injured his health.

Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm were staying at Plantation House. An interview having been arranged with Napoleon, they rode on horseback as far as Bertrand's at Hutt's Gate, the road being unfit for a carriage. There they found Napoleon's barouche, with six horses and two postilions. Bertrand accompanied the Admiral on horseback, and Lady Malcolm got off her horse to sit with Madame Bertrand in the carriage. The horses went at their customary pace, a gallop, and the carriage was nearly upset at a corner into the Devil's Punch Bowl. Lady Malcolm's nerves were shaken; she was already in a state of alarm at the prospect of being presented to Napoleon, but Madame Bertrand told her not to be afraid, that the Emperor was so good and so kind.

Napoleon received the Malcolms in the *salon*, where he was attended by Bertrand and his wife, Montholon, Las Cases, and Gourgaud. He seated himself on the sofa, and invited Lady Malcolm to share it, leaving the others standing. Sir Pulteney, however, did not intend to be treated as an attendant upon an Emperor. He moved two chairs towards the couple seated on the sofa, and requested Madame Bertrand to take one, while he prepared to make use of the other. Madame Bertrand looked at Napoleon and hesitated, but as the Admiral's determination was plain the ex-Emperor was obliged to give her permission to be seated, and then he had to extend the invitation to the rest of his suite.

In the comfortable circle thus formed, Lady Malcolm, on

the sofa of honour, soon recovered from her fears. Napoleon's reception was so friendly that she was "struck with the kindness of his expression, so contrary to the fierceness she had expected. She saw no trace of great ability; his countenance seemed rather to indicate goodness; at a second interview she remarked that it would change with his humour. The Admiral allowed that his manners were pleasing, but would not agree that they were in the least graceful." Expecting a tiger she found a lamb. Much of the "fascination" of Napoleon is explained in this passage. People came with terror in their hearts, and if they were received with the usual forms of politeness, they were overwhelmed by the contrast between their expectations and the reality. Few were able to approach the glittering object in a normal frame of mind.

The conversation itself was of little interest. Napoleon talked to the Scotch woman about the poems of "Ossian," which he much admired: and he asked her if she hunted, that being his stock question for English ladies, just as he would enquire of English men how often they got drunk, of doctors how many persons they had killed, and of women in general how many children they had, with an implied censure at the small number given in answer.

The presence of the Commissioners soon caused trouble. Baron von Sturmer brought with him to St. Helena a certain Philipp Welle, sometimes described as a Court Gardener at Schönbrunn, at other times as a botanist. The Emperor Francis possessed a collection of animals and plants which was stored at Philadelphia. He ordered Welle to go with Baron Sturmer to St. Helena, to gather plants there, take them to Philadelphia, complete the naturalistic collection there, and bring back the whole to Vienna. Before the time for departure, news arrived at Vienna that the Philadelphia collection had already been shipped. The Emperor did not cancel the journey of the botanist, who was now ordered to go merely to St. Helena for the plants, and to return straight

to Europe with them.[1] Before leaving Schönbrunn Welle was given by Herr Boos, the Director of the Imperial Gardens, a packet, not closed, which contained a lock of light-coloured hair, and a piece of paper on which was written : " *Tu trouveras ci-inclus quelques-uns de mes cheveux. Si tu as le moyen de te faire peindre, envoie-moi ton portrait. Ta mère Marchand.*" (You will find enclosed some of my hair. If you are in a position to have yourself painted, send me your portrait. Your mother Marchand.) Welle was to deliver this packet at St. Helena to Marchand.

Arrived at Paris, Welle was there given on behalf of Gourgaud's mother and sister, by Baron Arnstein, an Austrian officer of Hussars, a packet for General Gourgaud, containing a letter and a silk handkerchief.[2]

At London another of Sturmer's party, his cook, received from the cook who had been in the employ of Count Balmain, a packet for Cipriani, Napoleon's *maître d'hôtel.*[3]

On the 18th June, 1816, the day of his arrival at Jamestown, Welle met at dinner at the Porteous lodging-house, a certain Richard Prince, who was introduced to him as a medium for secret communication with Longwood. Welle asked Prince to tell Marchand that he had news of his mother. Prince duly informed Marchand, who accordingly came down to Jamestown. He was accompanied, as guard, by an English soldier who allowed him to enter the Porteous house alone, a dereliction of duty for which he was reprimanded before any of the other circumstances had come to light. Welle took Marchand into his bedroom, and there delivered to him the packets for himself and for General Gourgaud. Soon afterwards Sturmer's cook contrived to pass the packet entrusted to him, safely to Cipriani.

[1] Sturmer's despatch of 13th December, 1816. Schlitter, p. 41.

[2] Metternich to the Austrian Ambassador in London, 8th October, 1817. Sturmer to Metternich, 4th July, 1817, and 14th August, 1817. Schlitter, pp. 178, 74, 90. Firmin Didot, "La captivité de Sainte-Hélène d'après les rapports inédits du Marquis de Montchenu," pp. 106, 114.

[3] Sturmer to Metternich, 31st December, 1816. Schlitter, p. 59.

It was not long before Sir Hudson Lowe obtained information with regard to these transactions. He learned that the hair was not that of Madame Marchand, but of Napoleon's little son, the former King of Rome; it had been given to Boos by Marchand's mother, who was in attendance upon the child at Schönbrunn.

The story is typical of the underhand intrigues which the Governor had to unravel. Madame Marchand cuts off a lock of hair from the little King of Rome; she gives it to Boos, who gives it to Welle, who tells Prince, who tells Marchand, who induces an English soldier to let him disappear for a moment in a house where Welle gives Marchand the packet, which Marchand finally in triumph presents to Napoleon. Here are five persons (not including Napoleon) guilty of illicit communications, and an English soldier induced to neglect his duty, in order that a lock of hair should be sent in a secret manner from a child to his father.

The initial cause of this roundabout journey was the obstruction at Vienna. The Emperor Francis would not permit any communication between his daughter and her husband, and Marie Louise accepted his decision. The attendants upon the child evaded the Vienna restrictions by secret means, and the packet had then to be forwarded to Napoleon, without the knowledge of Sir Hudson Lowe. If there had been no objection at Vienna, the packet could have been sent straight to Lowe, who would at once have sent it up to Longwood.

Sturmer declared that he did not learn of the existence of these packets until after they had been delivered, and that several months elapsed before he heard that Welle was implicated, and was informed that his packet had contained a lock of hair from the head of Napoleon's son. But he admitted, in a despatch to Metternich of the 31st December, 1816, that he discovered that two packets had been secretly delivered in the Porteous house, and that a third had passed at another time from his cook to Cipriani. He said that he

had reprimanded his cook and also his valet. If he had spoken to his valet he must have discovered that he was not the guilty party. It is difficult to believe that he did not learn that one of the packets contained a lock of hair, until the month of December, when the news had already been published in the "Morning Chronicle" in London, in October.

In a despatch to Metternich, of the 4th July, 1817,[1] Sturmer said that he had just heard about the Gourgaud packet, and that Welle had been the intermediary; and he said he did not intend to pass on his information to the Governor. Now Sturmer at this time had already received from Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador in London, a letter inviting him to make himself more agreeable to Sir Hudson Lowe. The despatch of this reprimand was approved by Metternich.[2] When, therefore, Metternich received Sturmer's letter, which showed that the Austrian Commissioner had decided not to follow the order issued to him with regard to politeness to the Governor, he wrote to Esterhazy as follows: "I associate myself, Prince, entirely with your opinion, that M. de Sturmer would have done better not to have kept up against Sir Hudson Lowe a silence upon a fact of which the Governor could not be ignorant, and which must have inspired him with a justifiable distrust of the Austrian Commissioner after what had already occurred, and especially when he found that the latter official had allowed him to hear of it first from other sources."[3] Soon afterwards, on the 13th October, 1817, Metternich sent to the Emperor Francis a report in which he proposed that Baron Sturmer should be recalled from St. Helena.[4]

The Austrian Commissioner was, from the first, in a

[1] Schlitter, p. 74.

[2] Esterhazy, 19th February, 1817: "J'ai adressé une lettre particulière à M. de Stürmer pour l'engager à mettre plus de facilité dans ses formes." Metternich, 6th March, 1817: "J'approuve entièrement que vous ayez écrit à M. de Stürmer pour l'engager à se conduire d'une manière plus mesurée dans ses rapports avec le Gouverneur." Schlitter, p. 24.

[3] Metternich to Esterhazy, 8th October, 1817. Schlitter, p. 177.

[4] Schlitter, p. 25.

position of peculiar difficulty. Many believed that he came with secret instructions to arrange a reconciliation between Napoleon and his father-in-law. These suspicions were strengthened, when it was found that he brought with him an emissary from the Imperial gardens at Schönbrunn, on a pretended botanic expedition. That the Emperor Francis had sent a man all the way from Vienna to collect dried plants, was not believed. Napoleon himself expressed to O'Meara his conviction that Welle had been "sent out by the Austrian Government in some diplomatic capacity or other. That of a botanist is a cloak for it."[1] When it was learned that the botanist had been entrusted at Schönbrunn, with a lock of hair from the head of Napoleon's son, which he had succeeded in passing to Napoleon, without the knowledge of the Governor, an Austrian conspiracy seemed to be proved. Sturmer was suspected by Lowe, by Malcolm, and by general opinion, of having lent himself to the transaction; and his silence when he learned about what had occurred, his pretence that he had not heard that one of the packets contained a lock of hair, when it was already common knowledge in London, strengthened the conviction as to his connivance. For this he was himself to blame, as he was told by his employer. If, as soon as he heard of the secret communication, he had at once reported all he knew to Sir Hudson Lowe, he would have served his country better, and a great deal of misunderstanding would have been avoided; whereas when he found that Lowe knew what had occurred, and, not unnaturally, suspected his complicity, he made difficulties for Lowe at every opportunity, and abused him with acrimony in his reports, until he received a well-deserved censure for his conduct.

It was on account of affairs of this kind that Sir Hudson Lowe, who had in fact been the only upright and honourable man of all concerned, was handed down to future generations as a heartless and cruel jailor. Sturmer was guilty of underhand conduct, and being found out by Lowe, he turned on

[1] O'Meara's diary, "Century Magazine," March, 1900, p. 792.

that official and abused him in reports which have obtained a certain amount of credence. The result is that while every person concerned was worthy of censure, except Sir Hudson Lowe, he alone has had to carry the stigma of disgrace.

There was another example at this time of an attempted illicit communication with one of the Commissioners. M. de Montchenu brought with him letters to Madame Bertrand from her mother, and to Las Cases from his wife; they were duly delivered. Napoleon ordered Madame Bertrand to write secretly to Montchenu, asking him to call upon her at Hutt's Gate, as she understood that he had seen her mother, who was in poor health, and wished to make enquiries about her; and that Count Las Cases would be present, as he had heard that Montchenu had seen his wife in Paris. The object was to make complaints to Montchenu, and establish clandestine relations with him. Napoleon avowed this to Montholon; and O'Meara wrote to Sir Thomas Reade to the same effect.[1]

Madame Bertrand's letter was delivered sealed to Mr. Porteous, in whose house at Jamestown Montchenu was living. Porteous forwarded it to Lowe, who thereupon wrote a letter of complaint to Bertrand. He reminded the Grand Marshal of the rule already clearly stated, that all letters must be sent open, under cover to the Governor, and added: "Whatever private communications they may contain, which may be of no importance for others to be informed of, will be held by me most sacred; and I shall be happy if by accelerating their transmission, or by endeavouring to obtain an early reply, I can render any service which may be of use to you or them." Bertrand returned what Sir Pulteney Malcolm described as "a violent and improper answer which, of course, met with a severe rebuke from Sir Hudson." The result was a feud between Bertrand and Lowe which lasted to the end.

Sir Hudson Lowe had not received any definite answer to

[1] Récits, vol. i, p. 314. In the "Voice," vol. i, p. 70, O'Meara gives a version of this affair which is disproved by his own contemporary letter.

his enquiries as to Napoleon's wishes with regard to Longwood, whether he desired a new and better house to be built, or would prefer that Longwood should be enlarged and improved. Lowe applied to Montholon for information, and was referred by him to Bertrand. He then made the enquiry of Bertrand, but as the result of the Montchenu affair, Bertrand declined all relations with Lowe and vouchsafed no reply. Sir Hudson then, on the 6th July, wrote to Montholon a polite letter, remarking that he had waited several days without receiving an answer; "I therefore take the liberty, Sir, of addressing myself to you, to request you will do me the honour to mention to the General, my desire to be informed more particularly of his sentiments upon the point in question before I proceed any further with the works at Longwood. In consequence of so much having been already executed or undertaken there, and of the house for Count Bertrand having been nearly completed since I first spoke to him, the plan of adding new apartments to, and finishing the buildings of, that establishment, is that by which I consider more can be done within a short space of time for his convenience and general accommodation, than by the construction of a new edifice. It is that therefore I beg you to mention to him I propose to proceed upon, unless he should have other wishes on the occasion, and do me the favour to signify them, when I shall be ready to show them every attention that my instructions will admit."

Napoleon dictated a reply, which began with the remark that the Governor's letter was "written with the intention of being amiable"—a conciliatory admission. He proceeded to say that if he could not have Plantation House, and a new house was to be built, he would wish to have it "in the cultivated part of the island, where there are trees, water, and vegetation. The idea of adding wings to the wretched building of Longwood is in every way objectionable; it would be merely enlarging a ruin, and adding the annoyance of workmen for five or six months." Lowe on receipt of this

letter went up to Longwood, and was received by Napoleon, on the 17th June, 1816.

The two men stood for the two hours that the conversation lasted. Lowe began by asking for directions with regard to Longwood, but he was met by complaints and accusations. "You stick pins into our backs. There is no way of dealing with you. You are a Lieut.-General, you should not perform your duty like a sentry. You should consider your glory, which will suffer from the manner in which you act towards us." Lowe answered: "I did not come here in search of glory, nor did I solicit the employment; but, being here, I must do my duty, which I esteem above glory." Napoleon said: "It is always with you as in the fable of the wolf and the lamb, one cannot be in the right with you." With regard to Longwood, Napoleon would say nothing definite. "A new house would take six years to build. In a couple of years there will be a change of Ministry in England, or a new Government in France, and I shall no longer be here. If, however, I were obliged to remain in this place, I could not live in this house; it would be necessary to build another for me in a more agreeable part of the island." Lowe said the situation of Longwood had always been considered agreeable, and Napoleon admitted that all strangers who came to see him thought that it was so, but he wanted shade and shelter from the wind.

Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst proposing the erection of a new house, on the property known as Rosemary Hall, "in one of the most beautiful and cultivated parts of the island." There were objections on the ground of safety. "He would be more open to receive visits, and if he was to escape from his limits he might possibly sooner find the means of concealment, if not of evasion; but the difference hardly appears to me so great as to overbalance every other consideration regarding his comfort and his health." Sir Hudson Lowe was prepared to run some risk as to Napoleon's escape, in order to give him a house and property to his liking.

Rosemary Hall became the home of Baron Sturmer and his wife. Though a house of fair size, it would have been much too small for Napoleon and his suite. Large additions, with extensive outbuildings, would have been necessary. Lowe appears to have contemplated the erection of a new house for Napoleon, using the existing house for the members of his suite.

There is a long grass slope in front of the house, and an avenue of oak trees on either side, with abundance of the shade that Napoleon demanded, and complete shelter from the wind. The temperature is higher than at Longwood, with a tendency to a close and stuffy air, and there is more rain; the climate is not so healthy as on the wind-swept heights. The house is in a valley leading down to the sea, which can be reached on foot without difficulty. Napoleon would have been much more closely guarded at Rosemary Hall; his limits would have been narrow, with less scope for rides and drives. Though he might have enjoyed the seclusion, he would have complained of the confined space at his disposal. Rosemary Hall is only about a mile from Plantation, and would have been thus much more convenient than Longwood, for the Governor. But Lowe's proposal to build a house there never came to anything, owing to Napoleon's refusal to make any response. There was no guarantee that if the house was built, Napoleon would consent to live in it.

The alterations at Longwood were put under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard, with the assistance of Lieutenant Jackson. A billiard-table was placed in the entrance-room, which thenceforth was known as the billiard-room.

On the 20th July, the Montholons evacuated their rooms and went into the new apartments, built for them at the back of the house. O'Meara, in a letter to Sir Thomas Reade, wrote: "Great dissensions and civil commotions between De Las Cases and Gourgaud (the latter backed by Montholon) about the rooms. Both applied to Bonaparte in urgent terms

COUNT MONTHOLON

From a contemporary engraving

to get them, but Nap. very wisely settled it like Pope Leo, by taking them himself. Montholon cannot conceal his joy at the failure of De Las Cases, and for the present is triumphant. Ma il Gesuito sempre travaglia travaglia sotto mano, parla poco e male, ed alla fine riuscira come topo nel formaggio." (But the Jesuit ever worketh worketh underhand, speaketh little and evil, and in the end will succeed like a mouse at the cheese.)

Napoleon took the principal room evacuated by the Montholons for his library, and appointed St. Denis the librarian. Large book-shelves were placed there by the order of Sir Hudson Lowe. Las Cases, who was uncomfortably lodged, had hoped to be moved into these rooms, and his failure to obtain them made him more than ever detest St. Helena. If he had been given these rooms he would have been lodged nearer to Napoleon than any of the followers; he would have been the only inhabitant of the Imperial quarters, with Napoleon; his precedence over Montholon and Gourgaud, and even—as regards intimacy—over Bertrand, would have been established, and he might not have been so anxious to leave the island.

On the 25th July letters arrived for Napoleon from his mother, his brother Lucien, and his sister Pauline, and a quantity of newspapers were sent up to Longwood. Sir Pulteney Malcolm called on Napoleon, taking a series of the "Journal des Débats." In conversation Napoleon abused Sir Hudson Lowe, and the Admiral defended him, saying that he had "peculiar manners" but "was very desirous of doing everything in his power to render him comfortable. Bonaparte allowed that it was manner more than matter that so frequently vexed him. He instanced some things that had been done by way of civility, but the manner prevented them from being received as such. 'In short, he cannot please me. Call it *enfantillage*, or what you will.'"[1] Napoleon then went through the catalogue of grievances,

[1] "A Diary of St. Helena," by Lady Malcolm, p. 37.

and Malcolm in every case defended Lowe and the regulations. When Napoleon complained of the selection of St. Helena for him, the Admiral "supposed this island was chosen as the most secure, and at the same time the most agreeable State prison that could be devised." Malcolm told Napoleon that if he had been allowed to remain in England he would have been, as he still was, a terror for the Continent, and would have been too dangerous and efficient an instrument in the hands of the Opposition. Sir Pulteney says that he "saw that Napoleon was determined to keep up as long as he could, within his own house, the state of an Emperor, and that he was not displeased to have grievances." They were for four hours together in the *salon*, with their hats under their arms, walking up and down, or leaning on the furniture from fatigue.

On the 10th August the Admiral and Lady Malcolm went to Longwood and were taken by Napoleon for a drive. The four horses set off at a hand-gallop, accompanied by Gourgaud on horseback. "The drive was on turf," wrote Lady Malcolm, "and the gum-wood trees grew so thick that, going so fast, it did not seem quite safe; but the two Paris postilions were excellent." O'Meara in his diary remarks, "The vehicle could scarcely be discerned in consequence of the clouds of dust produced by the rapidity of the course."[1]

On the 15th August, Napoleon's birthday, the whole of his suite, with the ladies and children, breakfasted with him in what Las Cases calls "the large and beautiful tent, which is a real and happy acquisition. The temperature was agreeable, and the Emperor himself cheerful and full of conversation." The tent had been erected by the sailors to give shade and shelter. As the wind blows at Longwood always from the same direction, and the air is nearly always warm, a large open shelter would provide an ideal outdoor abode for meals, receptions, dictation, etc.

Malcolm brought to Longwood a pneumatic machine,

[1] "Century Magazine," March, 1900, p. 784.

lately invented, for making ice. A thermometer was put into the water to show the fall of temperature. It became frozen in the ice; Napoleon trying to pull it out by force, broke it, and exclaimed, laughing, "This is like me." The machine did not prove a success.

Orders were received from Bathurst that Napoleon's allowance was to be fixed at £8000 a year. Sir Hudson Lowe ventured, on his own responsibility, to raise the amount to £12,000. As the rate of expenditure hitherto had been £17,000, it was necessary to make economies, and reductions in the establishment. Lowe went to Longwood to discuss the matter with Napoleon, who declined to see him, saying he was in his bath, and suggested he should communicate with Bertrand. Sir Hudson thereupon went to Hutt's Gate, gave Bertrand certain papers containing calculations of accounts, and proceeded to make remarks about them. Bertrand abruptly took the papers, said he would lay them before the Emperor, and that the less communication, either verbally or in writing, he and Sir Hudson had the better. Thus rudely dismissed, Sir Hudson, taking Malcolm with him, went next day, the 18th August, 1816, to complain to Napoleon of the treatment he had received.

The meeting[1] took place in the garden, where the three men walked up and down, their staffs and attendants remaining at a respectful distance, unable to hear what was said, but observant of the violent gestures in which Napoleon indulged. He was walking between the two Englishmen.

Lowe began by making his complaint of Bertrand's behaviour. So long a pause followed that it seemed there was to be no answer, but at last Napoleon in a hollow, angry tone of voice replied, addressing himself pointedly to the Admiral: "General Bertrand is a man who has commanded armies, and he" (Lowe) "treats him as if he were a corporal. He

[1] Forsyth, vol. i, p. 245, calls it the "60th and last interview" between Lowe and Napoleon. It was the sixth and last. Forsyth does not class as an "interview" the presentation by Lowe of Sir Pulteney Malcolm on the 20th June.

treats us all as if we were deserters from the Corsican regiment; he has never commanded any but foreign deserters, traitors to their country; he does not know how to behave towards men of honour." When Lowe expostulated, Napoleon, continuing to address Malcolm, went on, "There are two kinds of people employed by Governments, those whom they honour and those whom they dishonour; he" (the Governor) "is one of the latter,[1] the situation they have given him is that of a hangman." Sir Hudson replied that he was indifferent to attacks of that kind; he had not sought the appointment he held, but it being offered he considered it a sacred duty to accept it. Napoleon then repeated to Sir Pulteney Malcolm the usual complaints, which Malcolm sometimes interrupted to answer, himself. When Napoleon said that Sir George Cockburn had permitted them to correspond with the inhabitants, Malcolm replied that Cockburn had made, or at least intended to make, a change in that, improper advantage having been taken of the indulgence; when Napoleon said the Governor had taken away from Bertrand the permission to give passes to Longwood, Malcolm replied that it was Cockburn who had done so. Napoleon said, "No, sir; he" (Lowe) "told you so, but it is not true." Malcolm reiterated the statement, and said that it was Cockburn himself who had told him. So it went on, Napoleon abusing the Governor, whose presence, walking by his side, he ignored, and Malcolm defending his compatriot. At last Napoleon turned upon Lowe, "You are no Englishman." To this the much-tried officer replied, "You make me smile, sir." "How smile, sir?" said Napoleon with a look of surprise. "Yes, sir, it makes me smile, and excites my pity to see how misinformed you are as to my character and for the rudeness of your manners. I wish you good morning." Sir Hudson then left without further ceremony. Malcolm thereupon, with a bow, said, "I must also wish you good

[1] It was precisely in these terms that Napoleon described Sir Neil Campbell, the British Commissioner at Elba.

morning." "During this conversation," says Malcolm, "Sir Hudson never for a moment lost his temper; Bonaparte frequently, particularly when he addressed Sir Hudson." He adds that Lowe's replies "did him much credit." On coming away Sir Pulteney personally complimented Lowe on his behaviour in very trying conditions, observing, "You precisely said what I might have done, and no more."

Sir Pulteney Malcolm evidently regarded himself as an *arbiter elegantiae*. He would not admit that Napoleon's manners were "graceful," only "pleasing"; Lowe's were in general "peculiar," but on this occasion he was able to tell Sir Hudson that he had contrived to behave just as Sir Pulteney himself would have done. He was the pattern for the Governor to copy. In this patronizing attitude, and the display Malcolm made of his cordial relations with Napoleon, he was playing the Emperor's game. Napoleon flattered the Admiral in order to create unpleasantness between him and the Governor. As Lowe reported to Lord Bathurst, "to lower me in the Admiral's opinion, and to make an invidious distinction between us, was the principal feature in his attack."

Napoleon again had to regret his behaviour to Sir Hudson Lowe. Las Cases told Lieutenant Louis, of the *Northumberland*, that the Emperor was very sorry he had lost his temper; that during the whole time he was on the throne of France he never was in such a passion, nor ever made use of such language before, and conceived he had lowered himself by it. Las Cases adds in his journal: "The Emperor admitted that he had during this conversation seriously and repeatedly offended Sir Hudson Lowe, and further did him the justice to admit that Sir Hudson Lowe did not throughout show him any want of respect. He had said that we endeavoured to blacken his character in Europe, but that our conduct in that respect was a matter of indifference to him. 'The only failure, perhaps,' said the Emperor, 'on the part of the Governor, and that was trifling compared with the treatment

he had received, was the abrupt manner in which he retired. I must receive this officer no more; he puts me in a passion; it is beneath my dignity; expressions escape me which would have been unpardonable at the Tuileries. It would have been more worthy of me, finer and greater, to have expressed all these things with composure; they would, besides, have been more impressive.'" Montholon says Napoleon remarked, "This is the second time in my life" (the reference is to the Whitworth outbreak in 1803) "that I have spoiled my affairs with the English. Their phlegm leads me on, and I say more than I ought. I should have done better not to have replied to him."

Lowe and Napoleon never met again. When the ever-forgiving, duty-bent Sir Hudson next went up to Longwood to ask for an interview, Napoleon declined to grant it. He was afraid of misbehaving once more. The British phlegm, as he truly said, led him on to outbursts of passion. If Lowe, a man of naturally quick temper, had allowed himself to be influenced by the infection, and had imitated Napoleon's bad example, the Emperor would not have felt humiliated. But the mere fact that Lowe did not lose his self-control drove Napoleon to lose his. Thus even Lowe's virtues told against him, for Napoleon hated the man who had put him to shame.

CHAPTER XIV

THE OCTOBER REGULATIONS

SO long as the great Emperor lived, his continued presence in the world, no matter how far removed from the centres of civilization, continued to cause anxiety. People feared — though without adequate ground—that if he were to return, the Elba triumph might be repeated.

Some keen geographer discovered that the uninhabited island of Ascension was only 700 miles from St. Helena. American ships occasionally went to Ascension to obtain turtle. One of the first acts of Sir G. Cockburn, only three days after his arrival with Napoleon, was to send H.M.S.S. *Peruvian* and *Zenobia* to take possession of Ascension. The British flag was raised and the island annexed to the British Empire, on the 22nd October, 1815. An even more distant island was considered to lie dangerously near the Napoleonic influence. On the 2nd August, 1816, H.M.S. *Falmouth* was sent from St. Helena to take possession of Tristan d'Acunha.[1]

Baron Hyde de Neuville, whose suspicions with regard to Napoleon's intentions had been only too justified in the Elba days, was now the French Ambassador at Washington, and was more than ever inclined to lay stress upon the danger to be apprehended. In July and August, 1817, he reported to the duc de Richelieu that the insurrectionary movements in Mexico and Brazil were "becoming more pronounced and more and more linked with projects for the return of Bonaparte." He had obtained information that England was

[1] Watson, "Polish Exile," pp. 245, 248.

fomenting the revolutions; "as yet, England acts secretly, but there is no doubt that she does act, and that her agents have made overtures to some refugee Generals." The ridiculous idea that England had assisted Napoleon to escape from Elba was now outdone. The French Ambassador at Washington was reporting to his Government that there were rumours, which he considered to be well founded, that England was giving support to an American expedition for the rescue of Napoleon from her own custody. England, while pretending to guard Napoleon, was planning in secret an attack by force upon Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir George Cockburn, with their batteries and warships, their soldiers and sailors. Surely credulity could go no further. It would seem that the astounding events of the Revolution and Empire had overbalanced men's minds, leaving a readiness to accept any fabulous story, however wild and foolish.

The British Government received reports about plots amongst the Bonapartist refugees in the United States for making Joseph Bonaparte King of Mexico. Charles Bagot, the British representative at Washington, sent to Lord Castlereagh, on the 6th October, 1817, a document giving particulars. It began: "Art. 1—La confédération Napoléonienne sera portée au nombre effectif de neuf cents membres armés et equippés, en tirailleurs des Troupes des Independans de Mexique." Joseph was to contribute a sum of £4000 to "reconquer" one of the chief thrones of the universe and restore his Illustrious Dynasty.[1] Hyde de Neuville had news of the same plot. He wrote to the duc de Richelieu that he had "obtained irrefutable proof, such as would satisfy a court of law, of a plot woven by some French refugees. . . . The plan was to raise an insurrection in the West with the secret aim of making Joseph King of Mexico. . . . An expedition bound for St. Helena would find arms, money, and intrepid auxiliaries, everything in fact that the most

[1] B.M., 20119, p. 219; 20120, p. 33. "Kaiser Franz I. und die Napoleoniden," by Schlitter, p. 134 *et seq.*

JAMESTOWN FROM SIDE PATH

From a water-colour by Basil Jackson

devoted zeal could offer in any part of the Union. . . . The last news from St. Helena is that Bonaparte is well but refuses to see anyone. Is he contriving to escape without his absence being immediately discovered ? . . . Unless the surveillance of St. Helena is, so to speak, unheard of in its strictness, there is everything to fear. Where should we be if this marvellous man reached Mexico to find it already conquered ? "[1]

Hyde de Neuville had an interview with President Madison, who told him he could not interfere with the equipment of vessels by Americans unless he had something very much more definite and certain as to their intentions. The project of making Joseph Bonaparte King of Mexico, would not perhaps have been altogether hopeless if only that mild and peace-loving man could have been induced to take some interest in it ; he would not risk even £4000 on the plan.

Another plot was being hatched at Pernambuco, in Brazil, by a Colonel Latapie. Mr. H. Chamberlain, H.B.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, reported to Lord Castlereagh that the scheme was to support the rebels, and having established an " Independent Government," " it was intended to fit out one or more fast-sailing vessels (which were to be manned by faithful and determined adherents of Buonaparte, upon whose resolution perfect dependence would be placed) and sufficiently capacious to contain several small steamboats. These vessels, after making the island of St. Helena, were to keep at a considerable distance from it, and in such situations as the positions of the British cruisers might render necessary. The steamboats were then to be prepared, and as they were to be sent at night and manned by persons determined to brave every danger, it was hoped that some of them might be fortunate enough to succeed in setting their late Emperor at liberty."[2]

The proposed use of a small steamboat, which was to be

[1] " Memoirs of Baron Hyde de Neuville," vol. ii, p. 90 *et seq.*
[2] B.M., 20120, p. 244.

carried on the deck of a sailing vessel, shows that there was more imagination than solid determination in this scheme, for although paddle-boats were running at the time between London and Margate no ocean voyage had yet been achieved by the new craft.

An armed vessel sailing from Charleston, New Orleans, Pernambuco, or Rio de Janeiro could have done nothing in face of the British cruisers which were on permanent guard around the island, and the flagship and other vessels at anchor. A whaler or small merchant ship might possibly have approached the shore at night unobserved, and Napoleon could, with a little luck, have got down to the beach. He could have remained concealed in the daytime in the wood to the east of Longwood House, and might then have scrambled down in the night into Fisher's Valley, past the sentries, and so to the shore at Prosperous Bay; or he could have hidden in Mulberry or Bilberry Gut, and thence have walked, in the darkness, past the sentries and batteries in Gregory's Valley and thus to the beach near the Turk's Cap. If no vessel was then at hand he might have found a cave, or a rock, for concealment until a boat put in. The vessel would have had to evade the cruisers and arrive at the designated point at the time appointed, or soon after. The risks would have been very great, and few men, save a Jack Sheppard or a Latude, would have cared to attempt so desperate a hazard. Napoleon realized the difficulties. "Here," says O'Meara in his diary, on the 17th July, 1816,[1] "he spoke anew about escaping, and said that if he was inclined to try it, which he was not, there were ninety-five chances in one hundred against his effecting it." Napoleon had risked some doubtful ventures in his career, but never when he knew the odds were so heavily against him; he had too much sense to attempt such an enterprise. He was fully convinced that if, as was to be expected, he failed, he would be shot.

[1] "Century Magazine," March, 1900, p. 783.

The hazard was too great. Even if it had been less he would not have moved. He said to O'Meara, "Where could I go to, allowing that I got out of the island? Every place I could arrive at I would find enemies to seize me." If the world still feared Napoleon he was in no less terror of the world.

This was not realized at the time, nor would the knowledge have justified any relaxation of precautions, for a prisoner's unwillingness to leave his prison does not obviate the necessity of guarding him. Lord Bathurst believed that Napoleon spent his time in concocting plans for escape. He sent Lowe by the *Eurydice*, which reached St. Helena on the 29th September, 1816, a number of despatches, in which he gave directions for the exercise of increased strictness towards the great schemer. Reports had been received of plans for escape which might be "assisted by the number and character of the persons who are about him." Piontkowski and three others, to be chosen by Lowe, were therefore to be sent away. In general, with regard to the followers, "they cannot be too frequently reminded that their continuance in the island is an act of indulgence on the part of the British Government." They were to sign the declaration of their desire to remain at St. Helena, in the form originally sent out, and in default were peremptorily to be deported from the island. The variations which they had written, accompanied by insolent remarks, were not accepted. They were to sign or go.

In obedience to these orders Sir Hudson Lowe went to Longwood on the 1st October to inform Napoleon of their tenor, but he was not admitted. Napoleon announced to his followers that he had resolved never to receive Lowe again, and gave as reason that he was sure he would lose his temper. "*Ce sono state tre scene, scene vergognose*" (There have been three scenes, disgraceful scenes), he said to O'Meara. "Let him send Colonel Reade to me to explain what he has to say. I will hear him without being in a passion; he only

obeys his orders. He has an agreeable physiognomy, and I have no reason to complain of him."[1]

Reade went up to Longwood, where he was received with civility by Napoleon. Extracts from Lord Bathurst's despatches were translated to him by Las Cases; he remarked merely that the more he was persecuted the better.

Reade, on returning, visited Bertrand at Hutt's Gate, and the Grand Marshal then told him that he regretted the discord between himself and the Governor, that the unpleasant letters he had written had been the work of the Emperor, which he had been forced to write. "Madame Bertrand," says Sir Thomas, "repeated this several times to me." The Bertrands feared that the Governor might send them to the Cape, where they might be detained for a length of time before being moved to England. Bertrand was under sentence of death in France. The safest place was St. Helena.

On the 8th October Lowe sent the declarations to be signed in the prescribed form, with a letter in which he said that the followers would not be considered to have bound themselves irrevocably to remain on the island, as they would be allowed to depart if they made an application to that effect. The form of declaration was as follows: "I, the undersigned, do hereby declare that it is my desire to remain on the island of St. Helena and participate in the restrictions imposed upon Napoleon Bonaparte personally."

Napoleon ordered his followers to insert "l'empereur Napoleon," and when Lowe declined to receive the declarations with that alteration Napoleon told them not to sign, that it would be wanting in respect to him; he would prefer that they should leave him alone to his fate.

The Governor thereupon went to Longwood. Bertrand, Las Cases, and Montholon made speeches to him; Gourgaud admitted that he had no personal objection to sign in the

[1] O'Meara to Finlaison, B.M., 20216, p. 18. In the "Voice" O'Meara omits the praise of Sir Thomas Reade.

SANDY BAY

From an aquatint after the water-colour by John Kerr

form desired, but that the Emperor's commands forbade it. Lowe was thus obliged to give orders that the two Las Cases, the Montholons, and Gourgaud should be placed on board ship on the following day to sail for the Cape, Bertrand being allowed to remain for a time owing to the state of Madame's health. When the message was delivered at Longwood on the evening of the 15th October, Napoleon was reading aloud "Don Quixote" after dinner. Having heard it, he went on with the reading, apparently unconcerned, but soon stopped, put the book down, and remarked that he had not the stoicism to continue reading such a story under the circumstances. Madame de Montholon wept, the rest sat silent. Gourgaud looked at his watch and remarked that they had two and a half hours before midnight in which to decide. At last he announced that he was going to sign, and, Napoleon being evidently glad to hear it, Las Cases and Montholon followed his example. They went to Poppleton and handed him their declarations in the form prescribed.

O'Meara wrote an amusing account of the affair to Mr. Finlaison. "Notwithstanding all the vapouring of the morning and assertions of 'honour before life,' accompanied with gestures such as baring their bosoms, and protesting that a dagger should be passed through hearts faithful even in death, and which even in the last agonies would vibrate *only for the Emperor*, ere they would sign his degradation, Montholon, Las Cases, and Gourgaud came into Captain Poppleton's room in the dead of night, with crestfallen countenances, streaming eyes, and the declaration signed in their hands, imploring him to send them at that unreasonable hour to the Governor." O'Meara said that he had told Napoleon that if the followers had been allowed to return to Europe direct, instead of going to the Cape, they would not have been willing to stay. O'Meara was in a position to be acquainted with their feelings. The declarations made it difficult for any of them to leave Napoleon voluntarily.

Lord Bathurst hoped that some of the followers would

refuse to sign, and would thus furnish an excuse for deportation. But it was unreasonable to anticipate that any one of them would have the hardihood to announce his desire to leave Napoleon; the only result to be expected was a fervid assertion of devotion to their master.

In pursuance of Lord Bathurst's instructions, Sir Hudson Lowe gave orders that Piontkowski and three others were to leave the island. The Pole had already come under the displeasure of the Governor; he had endeavoured to induce Lieutenant Nagle of the 53rd, who was about to depart for England, to take with him a copy of the "Remonstrance," an attempt at illicit communication which Nagle reported to the Governor.

Piontkowski could well be spared at Longwood. He was seldom seen by Napoleon, he was not appreciated by his colleagues, and his duties as Equerry were nominal. On his departure Napoleon ordered the Grand Marshal to give him a certificate of good conduct, with a recommendation to the Bonaparte family to advance him two years' pay as a Major of Cavalry.

The three domestics chosen to accompany Piontkowski were—Rousseau, who had charge of the silver at Longwood, Archambaud, the youngest of the two postilion brothers, and Santini, who had little to do and spent most of his time on shooting expeditions. He had threatened to shoot Sir Hudson Lowe, and Napoleon feared that his Corsican blood might indeed impel him to such an act. To be rid of anxiety on that score he ordered Santini to refuse to sign the declaration, and thus ensured his removal.

Santini was given by Las Cases, with the approval of Napoleon, a piece of satin on which Emanuel Las Cases had written, in minute characters, the Montholon Remonstrance, which Santini was to sew into the lining of his clothes. In case of accident Santini undertook to learn it all by heart, and doubtless made the attempt, but it may be doubted whether he was capable of such a mental effort.

Piontkowski memorized the Remonstrance.[1] In a letter to Sir Robert Wilson, he says that when at sea he wrote out three copies, which he gave to his three companions when they were landed at Portsmouth, while he was detained on board ship. This is difficult to credit. If he wrote out copies he must have done so on the way to the Cape, and it is unlikely he would have kept them concealed until the arrival at Portsmouth.

The party of four embarked on the *David* for the Cape, on the 19th October, but before sailing, their baggage and persons were carefully searched by Captain Mansel, of the 53rd, the D.A.Q.M.G.[2] Piontkowski writes, in a letter to Sir Robert Wilson, that "they searched down to the shirt collars."

The *David* arrived at the Cape on November 10th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm was on a visit there at the time, and at his suggestion, the exiles were not detained long, but were placed on the *Orontes*, Captain Cochrane, which sailed for England, via St. Helena, on the 9th December, 1816. The *Orontes* anchored in Jamestown roads on the 18th and remained there till the 3rd January, 1817. None of the party was allowed ashore, but Archambaud's brother obtained permission to visit him on the ship, and Napoleon sent a basket of provisions.[3]

A copy of the Remonstrance, in the handwriting of St. Denis, was taken to England, and delivered there to Sir Robert Wilson by Santini. This copy may have been obtained from Archambaud, or it may have been concealed in the basket of provisions. There is no mention of any rigorous search on the *Orontes*, analogous to that conducted by Captain Mansel on the *David*.

The *Orontes* arrived at Spithead on the 15th February, 1817. Rousseau and Archambaud found their way to the

[1] B.M., 20121, p. 271. [2] *Ibid.*, 20116, p. 243.
[3] "A Polish Exile with Napoleon," by G. L. de St. M. Watson, pp. 101, 104, 105, 119, 234.

United States. Santini was introduced to Lord Holland, Sir Robert Wilson, and other sympathizers, to whom he exhibited the Montholon Remonstrance. Santini supported the statements therein contained, by his own experience, especially with regard to the provisions. Lord Holland was moved by these representations to give notice in the House of Lords, on the 10th March, of a motion for the production of papers on the subject of Napoleon's treatment.

On the 13th the "Morning Chronicle" inserted in its columns a translation of the Remonstrance, and on the same day Ridgway published a pamphlet in English with a French translation—"An appeal to the British Nation on the treatment experienced by Napoleon Bonaparte in the island of St. Helena, with an authentic copy of the official Memoirs, dictated by Napoleon, and delivered to Sir Hudson Lowe," by Noel Santini, "huissier du cabinet de l'Empereur." The "Appeal" was written, from materials supplied by Santini, by a Colonel Maceroni, who had been in the service of Murat at Naples, with additions and corrections by Sir Robert Wilson and Piontkowski. It is only thirty-five pages in length, in the two languages, with an appendix of twenty-four more pages for the English and French versions of the Remonstrance. It had an instant success, a number of editions following each other in quick succession.

When, on the 27th May, 1817, copies of the "Appeal" reached St. Helena, Napoleon described it to O'Meara as "a foolish production, exaggerated, full of trash, and some lies." Napoleon did not believe Santini had written the pamphlet himself; he "would not have praised the Admiral; he would, if left to himself, have abused everybody." If Napoleon's opinion of what he called the "testa calda" of Santini, and the absurdities contained in the pamphlet, had been known, people would not have been so eager to buy it.

Lord Holland introduced his motion in the Upper House on the 18th March, 1817, with a speech in which he asked for explanations with regard to some of Napoleon's com-

plaints—as to the limits, the climate, books, correspondence, provisions, etc. Lord Bathurst replied with a complete answer to all the charges. One remark he made gave great offence. He was discussing the prohibition of sealed correspondence. His speech was thus reported: "There was no reason why a letter to a banker should be sent sealed up. He did not deny that on a correspondence between friends the necessity of sending letters open was a most severe restriction, because it was impossible to consign to paper the warm effusions of the heart under the consciousness that it would be subject to the cold eye of an inspector. But this did not apply to a correspondence with a banker. Who had ever heard of an affectionate draft upon a banking house, or an enthusiastic order for the sale of stock?" There is nothing to be said in favour of that kind of humour.

On October 9th, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe made certain alterations in the regulations, in accordance with the instructions he had received on the 29th September from Lord Bathurst.

"A. Longwood, with the road along the ridge by Hutt's Gate to the signal-gun near the Alarm House, will be established as the limits. Sentries will designate the external boundary as well as that beyond which no person can approach Longwood House and garden without the Governor's permission.

"B. The road to the left of Hutt's Gate, and returning by Woody Ridge to Longwood, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte since the Governor's arrival, the posts which observed it will, for the greater part, be withdrawn. Should he, however, wish at any time to ride in that direction, by giving the orderly officer timely notice of it he will meet with no impediment."

By these two regulations a considerable reduction was made in the space at Napoleon's disposal for excursions unattended by a British officer. The area now was restricted to

the Longwood-Deadwood Plateau, and the bare road itself from Longwood, past Hutt's Gate, to the Alarm signal gun. These were the Wilks limits, with the road to Miss Mason's cut off. Cockburn, on the 1st January, 1816, had extended them to include Prospect House and grounds, the property of Mr. Brooke, on the further side of the ridge above the road to Alarm House; and he also included the small valley on the near side of the road, then known as Geranium Valley, afterwards the Valley of the Tomb. Napoleon complained of the exclusion of "Torbett's garden, which contains about eight or ten oak trees and a fountain, thus affording a cool and agreeable shade." He went only once to that spot in his lifetime, and there is no record of his having ever gone as far as Brooke's house.

Fisher's Valley and the road by Woody Ridge on the opposite side, were other additions made by Cockburn to the original suggestions of Colonel Wilks. The last time Napoleon had been in that direction was on the 12th February, eight months back, two months before the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe. The new restrictions were, so far as Napoleon himself was concerned, more nominal than real. They still left him the circuit of about eight miles to which he had voluntarily confined himself for eight months. The new regulation relieved a number of pickets, as the Alarm House road and the entrances to Fisher's Valley did not require so many guards. Lowe was not concerned to spare the soldiers, but to prevent advances being made by Napoleon's followers to the inhabitants of the valley.

In a dispatch to Lord Bathurst he said that "the officers and persons of his suite have no longer the same pretext for ranging about a part of the country where there are a greater number of inhabitants' houses than in any other, and with some of whose proprietors attempts have been made to tamper or to communicate more freely than I think it advisable to permit, and who have been thus drawn into a greater degree of familiarity with General Bonaparte himself than

strict prudence should allow." The restriction was pointed at the followers, and especially at Las Cases, as Gourgaud declared to the Emperor. "What has now happened to us is the result of his follies," he said.[1] That there was some truth in this diagnosis is shown by the fact that when Las Cases had been removed the former limits were restored.

It was a mistake to alter them. It was an unnecessary reminder to the French that they were prisoners, subject to the will of the British Government and its representative. Care should have been taken to avoid emphasizing that unpleasant situation. Lowe's excuse was that he had received a dispatch from Lord Bathurst, full of anxiety about schemes of escape, and urging the greatest circumspection, but it is not probable that the Governor, with his knowledge of the local conditions, thought much of the prisoner's chances; and though the reduction in the limits was of no practical concern to Napoleon, who had long since confined his outings to the Longwood Plateau, the nominal change had an appearance of unnecessary severity.

"C. If he is desirous to extend his ride in any other direction, an officer of the Governor's personal staff will always (on being informed in sufficient time) be prepared to attend him; and, should time not admit, the orderly officer at Longwood. The officer who attends him will be instructed not to approach towards him during his ride, except so far as duty may require on observing any departure from the established rules, when he will ride up and respectfully inform him of it."

This was Sir George Cockburn's regulation. In spite of the fact that Napoleon had on one occasion induced the officer in attendance to keep at a distance, and had then taken advantage of his good nature, to disappear from sight for the rest of the afternoon, the orderly was "not to approach towards" Napoleon. He was to be out of hearing, but not

[1] "Journal," vol. i, p. 246.

out of sight. Napoleon's refusal to take horse exercise in these conditions was unreasonable. If he was not to be accompanied there would, of course, have been no limits of any kind.

Napoleon told O'Meara that his objection was to the official nature of the officer's duties. He could not bring himself to give the necessary notice. He would submit to be followed and watched, provided he was not made aware of the surveillance. But, unfortunately, he could not be trusted at such a distance from the orderly as might enable him to gallop out of sight.

"D. The regulations already in force for preventing communication with any person without the Governor's permission will be required to be strictly adhered to; it is requested therefore that General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with the persons he may meet (except so far as the ordinary salutations of politeness, with which everyone will be instructed to treat him, may appear to require), unless in the presence of a British Officer."

Lord Bathurst in his instructions of July 20th, 1816, had said that "the disposition which General Bonaparte has shown to converse with, and give money to, the lower classes of the inhabitants, renders it, in his lordship's opinion, highly necessary, not only that he should be constantly accompanied by a British officer when beyond his limits, but the officer should be instructed to prevent, as far as possible, all that intercourse with the inhabitants which General Bonaparte seems so disposed to cultivate."

Lowe's regulation went beyond Bathurst's instructions, which referred only to meetings outside the limits. Lowe "requested" Napoleon not to enter into conversation with any person he might meet even within the limits. The permission to do so in the presence of the orderly officer was pointless, for the officer did not accompany Napoleon inside

PLANTATION HOUSE

From a water-colour by Basil Jackson

the limits. If Napoleon met an acquaintance he was enjoined, before speaking, to send for the orderly, who might be several miles away; silence would have to be maintained until that officer appeared; at a given signal from him, the conversation might begin; it was to be his happy lot to watch for any expression which he might have to consider beyond "the ordinary salutations of politeness," and when the fell words were uttered, instantly to administer a caution. But what if the conspirators ignored him when he objected, and went on with their machinations? It would apparently have been his duty to separate them, and take one or both into custody. "This is so extraordinary," was Napoleon's comment, "that we are now actually induced to believe, what many persons have already suspected, that Sir Hudson Lowe is occasionally subject to fits of lunacy."

Lowe had not thought out the practical bearing of his "request." If there had been no Commissioners on the island, and Napoleon had not been surrounded by a suite of attendants who were all conspirators, the prisoner could have been given much more freedom as to excursions, intercourse, and correspondence. It was the presence of these persons that gave Lowe most of his difficulties, and as they gradually dropped off in the course of time, so did Lowe relax his surveillance, and a corresponding improvement in his relations with Napoleon was brought about. This regulation he rescinded as soon as he had got rid of Las Cases, ten weeks after it had been promulgated, on the 26th December, 1816.

"E. Persons who, with General Bonaparte's acquiescence, may at any time receive passes from the Governor to visit him, cannot use such passes to communicate with the other persons of his family, unless it is so specifically expressed in them."

Construed strictly this would have prevented any visitor from speaking to any of the suite, a prohibition which, as Napoleon observed, would have made it necessary for him

to open the door himself, and to do without an interpreter even when his visitor was unable to speak either French or Italian. Lowe meant merely that a visitor to Napoleon was not intended to have unlimited liberty to remain on the premises, talking to the suite, as long as he liked. This regulation, of course, had to be rescinded shortly after it was issued.

"F. At sunset the garden enclosure round Longwood House will be regarded as the limits. Sentries will be placed round it at that hour, but will be posted in such a manner as not to incommode General Bonaparte with their personal observation of him, should he continue his walks in the garden after that time. They will be drawn round the house as heretofore during the night, and the limits will remain closed until the sentries are withdrawn entirely from the house and garden in the morning."

There was justification in this. The sentries had hitherto not approached the house or garden till 9 p.m. Sunset varied, according to the time of year, from about 5.30 to about 6.30, and it was dark almost at once. There had been a period of two or three hours of darkness during which Napoleon still enjoyed the liberty of wandering over a range of from eight to twelve miles. He was now limited to a circuit of a mile and a half for walks in the dark, until nine o'clock.

"G. All letters for Longwood will be put up by the Governor under a sealed envelope, and the packet sent to the orderly officer, to be delivered to any officer in attendance upon General Bonaparte, who will be thus assured that the contents will have been made known to no other person than the Governor. In the same manner, all letters from persons at Longwood must be delivered to the orderly officer, put up under an outer envelope *sealed* to the address of the Governor, which will assure that no other person than himself will be acquainted with their contents."

"H. No letters are to be received or sent, nor written communications of any kind pass or be made known, except in the above manner: nor can any correspondence be permitted within the island, except such communications as it may be indispensable to make to the purveyor, the notes containing which must be delivered open to the orderly officer, who will be charged to forward them."

These two regulations extended Sir George Cockburn's prohibition of sealed correspondence between Longwood and Europe, to correspondence between Longwood and St. Helena. The origin of the change was the effort made by Las Cases to obtain a secret interview with the Marquis de Montchenu at the Bertrand house. Under cover of informal notes of invitation from the Grand Marshal for visits to Napoleon, a clandestine correspondence had been carried on, which Sir George Cockburn had tolerated for a time, but had himself advised Sir Hudson Lowe not to permit any longer.

The October regulations were the outcome of Lord Bathurst's fears, which were kept alive by the alarmist rumours and stories of plots for the rescue of Napoleon, which reached him from America and Europe. If Napoleon gave a coin to a negro, or paid a compliment to a peasant girl, the uneasy sleep of Europe was disturbed. Bathurst was assailed with reports of danger, and he passed them on to Sir Hudson Lowe, who was enjoined to be stricter with his prisoner. He had to carry out Bathurst's instructions, that the world might be assured that England was doing its duty. The odium for the restrictions would in any case have fallen on the executive agent, but he made his orders appear harsh without necessity. He issued prohibitions against speech, which were ridiculous and could not be maintained; and he reduced the limits without making any change in Napoleon's habits, thus incurring the hostility for the spirit of the restriction without achieving, so far as the chief prisoner was concerned, any practical result.

CHAPTER XV

THE GRIEVANCES

NAPOLEON had now been more than a year at St. Helena. He had enunciated his grievances over and over again, in interviews, in letters, and in the Montholon Remonstrance of the 23rd August, 1816. Colonel Wilks, Sir George Cockburn, Sir Hudson Lowe, and Sir Pulteney Malcolm at St. Helena, and Lord Bathurst and his colleagues in England, had fully considered all the complaints, and were unanimously of opinion that there was no substance in any of them. All the details had been thoroughly thrashed out. It will be convenient now to recapitulate the charges and the replies thereto.

Napoleon's grievances against the British Government may be considered under the following heads :

1. The detention.
2. The place of detention.
3. The Longwood climate.
4. Longwood House.
5. Sir Hudson Lowe.
6. The title.
7. The limits.
8. Visitors.
9. Correspondence.
10. Provisions.

1. *The Detention*

It has been shown that Napoleon did not go voluntarily on the *Bellerophon*, but took refuge on the British ship only

just in time to avoid arrest at the hands of an official sent by the Bourbon Government. Even if he had been in a position to go where he pleased, it would still not have been incumbent upon the British Government to set him at liberty. Captain Maitland had made no promises, and had held out no hopes. But the point does not arise. Napoleon was in such fear for his life that he would have taken refuge on the *Bellerophon*, even if he had known that he was going to St. Helena.

Although he persisted in declaring that he was not a prisoner of war, he admitted he was to be regarded as a prisoner. In his protests to Lord Keith, and afterwards in conversation with his followers at St. Helena, he said that it would have been reasonable to have kept him in England, with a considerable amount of liberty, but under such constant observation and control as would have made escape impossible. Napoleon went on board the *Bellerophon* as a prisoner; he knew it, and admitted it.

2. *The Place of Detention*

After the Elba experience the world stood in fear of Napoleon. There could be no freedom from alarming apprehensions so long as he remained within striking distance. He could not be left in Europe, and he could not be controlled in the United States. Canada or the Cape of Good Hope were possibilities, but an island would be much easier to guard, especially by England, in whose care he was placed. There is no inhabited island in the Atlantic with the necessary distance from all continents, and particularly from Europe, except St. Helena. If there had been no St. Helena in existence it would have been most unfortunate for Napoleon. Anywhere else he would have been a close prisoner, with warders in constant attendance. At the Azores a much closer watch would have been necessary both on land and at sea; and even so there would have been constant alarms, while the liberty of the prisoner would have been much less than at St. Helena. Bermuda and the West Indies were too

near the United States and Mexico, and too much the resort of the shipping of neutral states; and the climate of the West Indian islands was unhealthy.

3. *The Longwood Climate*

As has been shown, the climate of Longwood is one of the healthiest in the world. Napoleon made the worst of it by living in airless and heated rooms, and then going out at sunset and exposing himself to the breeze at the exact hour when there is a slight fall of temperature, with the result that sometimes he caught cold. The dysentery, to which there is some liability in the late summer, especially if unripe fruit is eaten, or if there are insanitary conditions and many flies, did not attack Napoleon. There is no reason to suppose that the effect of the climate upon him was other than what its salubrity would lead one to expect. So far as our knowledge goes, the disease of which he died would have killed him sooner in any other part of the world.

4. *Longwood House*

Sir Hudson Lowe, with his characteristic honesty, said of Longwood, in a report to Lord Bathurst of the 9th July, 1816: "The objections against Longwood House, as stated in the concluding part of Count Montholon's letter, appear but too well founded. In proposing additions to it, I was rather guided by its situation than by its actual state, for to make a good permanent residence it would almost require to be rebuilt." That is, the situation was good, but the house inadequate.

Later on he wrote: "The Governor has long since ceased to make any addition to Longwood House; he is himself of opinion the house is not sufficiently good for a person who has filled the high rank and station which General Bonaparte did, if regard and consideration is intended to be shown him; but he would give no answer to the proposition of having a new house built for him—and if, when it is proposed to add

other rooms to that in which he now resides, he says, 'Any building at Longwood would prolong the annoyance of the workmen,' how would he have the Government or the Governor himself proceed ?"

Sir Hudson Lowe made frequent proposals either to enlarge and practically rebuild Longwood, or to erect an entirely new house. He even suggested the wooded situation of Rosemary Hall for a new building, although he knew there would be increased opportunity for escape in that direction. To these offers the Governor did not always receive the courtesy of a reply of any sort: when an answer came it was that the repairs meant the disturbance and noise of the workmen, and that the new house would take six years to build; before it was finished Napoleon would either be dead or in some other part of the world.

But, while declining any amelioration of the housing, Napoleon continued to complain of the situation, saying that in the summer there was no shade. Not to be baulked, Sir Hudson thereupon made arrangements for the hire, at £100 a month, of Miss Mason's house, where there was shade and water, as a summer residence for Napoleon, and sent word that the house would be prepared for the residence of the Emperor if it was so desired. To this communication no answer was ever vouchsafed.

Napoleon did not desire improvements at Longwood, or a new house, or a summer residence. The inadequacy of the accommodation at Longwood gave him a legitimate grievance, and it helped to convey an impression of temporary domicile. To live in a solid, fine house, specially built, would have seemed like admitting the permanency of his abode on the island. It was not only that he wished the world to consider that he was badly treated; he wanted to think so himself.

It may be questioned, for the same reasons, whether he desired to live at Plantation House. One of the chief and most spectacular of his grievances would have gone. But even if he had wished for that house the decision that it

should be retained for the Governor was justified. It was right that the British representative should be housed at least as well as the prisoner, and if Plantation House had been given to Napoleon, another equally good house would have had to be built for the Governor, who had extensive duties of hospitality, which made a large house necessary. The Castle at Jamestown is not so large as Plantation; it is further from Longwood, and the town is the least healthy part of the island. Plantation is, like Rosemary Hall, nearer than Longwood to the sea and also more difficult to guard. Nowhere on the island were there open spaces for walks, rides, and drives, except in the Longwood neighbourhood. Napoleon's complaints of the housing would have been stayed at Plantation, but he would have fastened on the greater severity of the surveillance, and the restricted limits; he would have clamoured for the larger freedom and the fresher air of Longwood.

5. *Sir Hudson Lowe*

Sir Hudson Lowe was not a man of suave and genial manners. He had none of the graces of the courtier; he was stiff and reserved. His honesty and sincerity and his kind-hearted nature made for him friends even among those who were not on good terms with him officially. The Commissioners, for example, were each in turn at various times dissatisfied with him, yet it is evident that they learned to sympathize with his difficulties, to appreciate his good intentions, and to like the man. Napoleon knew Lowe only in the official quality of the Governor of a prison, but even if they had met on equal terms the overflowing southern could never have appreciated the reticent northern. The two men were as the poles apart; their ideals, inclinations, habits of thought, manners, and speech were fundamentally different. Lowe could neither be cajoled nor bullied nor even made to lose his temper under any provocation. He appeared to Napoleon to be non-human, bereft of the natural emotions

PLANTATION HOUSE

From photographs by Graham Balfour

of mankind, such a being as would be capable of any crime. Napoleon protested over and over again that it was Lowe's object to poison him, or drive him to suicide, or worry him to death. This was not all pretence; for—it has to be said—Napoleon himself would not have allowed so powerful an enemy, whose mere existence was an unnecessary menace, to continue to live. When the duc d'Enghien had been put to death Napoleon observed that he wished people to understand of what he was capable. He repeated the lesson until there was no mistaking it. Napoleon was a Corsican of the eighteenth century. What more natural than that he should have supposed his enemies would take what he would himself have regarded as the only sensible course?

Lowe was continued in his post longer than he had expected, because it was found difficult to find a willing and suitable successor. It would not have been easy to induce any man whose name and position would have been gratifying to Napoleon, to accept the thankless task of endeavouring to please him. If, contrary to all expectation, such a man had succeeded in becoming on good terms with Napoleon, he would have been accused of being a second Sir Neil Campbell, of having fallen under the glamour of the magician, or of being England's agent for letting loose the man-slayer once more upon a terrified Europe. But it is more probable that Napoleon would have aspersed his character and denounced his manners, as he did with Cockburn and Lowe.

Even so an attempt should have been made—as doubtless it would have been, when Lowe's overdue retirement had been granted him—to find a more resplendent and gracious personality, than the plain soldier who thought merely of his duty.

6. *The Title*

England alone among the states of the world had been continuously at war with France, from a time preceding the establishment of the Empire to its abolition. During that period England had never been in a position to acknowledge

the Empire. When, at the Congress of Chatillon in 1814, there had been a reasonable expectation that peace with France might be arranged, the protocol of February 17th, 1814, granting the title of Emperor, was signed by the British representative; but this signified no more than that, if peace were concluded, the ordinary courtesies of friendly intercourse with France would be resumed, and her ruler would be recognized under whatever title France might choose to confer. The refusal of the Imperial style had been one of the British acts of war, which would of necessity have been abandoned when friendly relations were once more established.

But the insensate obstinacy of Napoleon, his rejection of the Chatillon terms, and his persistence in continuing to fight after he had been defeated, made it questionable whether England could afford to abandon her hostility to the man, even after peace with France had been arranged. And it seemed absurd to confer the title for the first time at the very moment that the Empire had ceased to exist. By the treaty of Fontainebleau, 11th April, 1814, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, afterwards joined by France, agreed that Napoleon should have the island of Elba and the title of Emperor; but England, while agreeing to the arrangements with regard to Elba, expressly declined to accord the Imperial title. That refusal aroused no extended criticism at the time. If the British Ministers were justified in withholding the title of Emperor from the "King of Elba," why should they be expected to grant it to the prisoner of St. Helena? It is said that no harm could result, and that as a mere matter of courtesy, and respect for fallen greatness, the title of Emperor should, out of compassion, have been accorded. To that contention it is supposed that there can be no reply. But there are some considerations on the other side.

Napoleon asserted that he had intended to live in England as Colonel Muiron or Baron Duroc; but that he was driven

to retain the title of Emperor Napoleon in opposition to that of General Bonaparte, which was being forced upon him. He told O'Meara that "he felt, as it were, a slap in the face whenever he was addressed as General Bonaparte, because, if the French nation had a right to give him one title, they had an equal right to give him another." Again, to O'Meara: "La meta de' disgusti che ho provato qui" (One half of the vexations that I have experienced here) "has arisen from the title" (the title of General Bonaparte). "I observed that many were surprised at his having retained the title after abdication. He replied, 'I abdicated the throne of France, but not the title of Emperor. I do not call myself Napoleon, Emperor of France, but the Emperor Napoleon. Sovereigns generally retain their titles. Thus Charles of Spain retains the title of King and Majesty, after having abdicated in favour of his son. If I were in England I would not call myself Emperor. But they want to make it appear that the French nation had not a right to make me its sovereign. If they had not a right to make me Emperor they were equally incapable of making me General.'"

Napoleon had abdicated. An elected Chief of the State, a Consul or President, loses his title as soon as he has abandoned his functions and has been replaced by a successor. Even a Pope, a Celestine I, on abdication becomes once more the mere hermit that he had been. In the case of an inherited monarchy the courtesy title of King may be given, in a foreign country, where no confusion of dignities can result. But the whole point of the British contention was that Napoleon had not the birth qualifications of Royalty. King George from the first repudiated Napoleon as a "brother," and the other Kings of the various states of Europe would have done the same if they had not been conquered by force of arms. It was held that Royalty was a divine essence which could be acquired only by blood inheritance. That was the prevalent feeling of the time. Napoleon could meet it only by pointing to his marriage, which had made him a

member of the most illustrious Royal Family, and by asserting that coronation conferred all the immutable qualities of Royalty. He told Sir Pulteney Malcolm that an anointed King could not divest himself of his Royalty. He impressed upon his followers that the execution of a King, a Charles I or a Louis XVI, or any attack upon the holy nature of Royalty—by caricature for example—was sacrilege. But the British Government, and all other European Governments, considered that Napoleon's coronation was itself an assault upon the prestige of Royalty; and it was held that the welfare of the State, the respect of the nation for its rulers, depended upon the popular belief in the divine nature of Royal blood. The persistent refusal of England to grant Napoleon, when seated upon the ancient throne of France, the status of Royalty, was an act of war against the usurper of a position which none but those of Royal birth could legitimately hold. Napoleon's insistence upon the Royal title was an attempt to establish Coronation as equivalent to Birth, giving him the power to transmit Royalty. Thus the Bonapartist dynasty was a rival to the Bourbon. Napoleon could not accept any title but that of Royalty without abandoning the claims of his house.

When proposing an incognito, Napoleon had no intention to allow himself to be mistaken for a Colonel, or a Baron, and treated accordingly. He expected to be regarded as the great Emperor in a temporary disguise which should deceive nobody. He was claiming one of the privileges of Royalty. His explanation that before boarding the *Bellerophon* he had decided to assume an incognito, carries with it the admission that before the name of General Bonaparte had been suggested he had already determined to maintain his Royalty.

The provision in the treaty of Fontainebleau, by which he was to retain the Imperial title, was not forced upon him by the fear of being called General Bonaparte. At Elba he clung with pathetic insistence upon his Royalty, far more than upon his reputation as General or Statesman. It was

not a mere after-thought to do the same at St. Helena. On the *Bellerophon* he behaved like an Emperor, inviting the Admiral and the Captain to what had been regarded as the Captain's table, but was now the Emperor's. A more striking proof of his determination to remain a monarch under any and all circumstances could hardly be furnished—and he had not yet been styled General Bonaparte. The excuse is transparent. He told his followers over and over again at St. Helena that he could no longer live as a private person. His most precious possessions at Longwood were the portraits of his wife and his son, members of a Royal household—all that was left to remind him of his former greatness. So long as life was in him he would never abandon either the name or the status of an Emperor.

The title once given he would have fought for the privileges attaching to it. He would, for example, have kept the Governor waiting for hours in an ante-chamber, and would have expected him, when admitted, to remain standing, in a deferential attitude. Out of doors the Governor would have to remove his hat. If such honours had not been accorded the complaints would have been as great as over the refusal of the title. If, out of compassion for human weakness, they had been given, it would have been impossible to limit the abasement which would have been demanded: for, as Balmain reported, "he treats his French people like slaves."[1] Then, Bertrand would have required his full titles, and would have been a greater man than the British representative, and the Secretary of State (Las Cases), the Controller of the Household (Montholon), and the Master of the Horse (Gourgaud), would have expected the deference attaching to such high officials at the court of an Emperor.

England no longer stood alone on this point. The attitude of the Powers towards Napoleon had been changed by the departure from Elba. Their first act was to denounce

[1] "Revue Bleu," vol. iv, series 7, p. 583.

"Napoleon Bonaparte" as an outlaw. The word Emperor was never again used. After the abdication of 1815 the Provisional Government of France used the description, "Napoleon Bonaparte." In Metternich's instructions to the Austrian Commissioner, the name "Napoleon Bonaparte" is used throughout, and Sturmer in his reports writes "Bonaparte" as a rule; sometimes "l'ex-empereur." The Instructions to the French Commissioner speak only of "Bonaparte," and Montchenu never uses any other designation. The Russian Instructions also refer throughout to "Bonaparte," and Balmain uses that style, varied occasionally by "l'ex-empereur." The Czar laid stress on "all the regards" to be shown, but he did not include the title of Emperor. The Russian memorandum at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle speaks only of "Napoleon Bonaparte," the name used by all the Powers at the Congress. England could not give the title of Emperor without offending nations which were Allies only in their common fear of the terrible Corsican. To accord the title would have been to imperil the anti-Napoleonic Alliance.

The outcry against England's refusal of the title must be taken as a high compliment to the nation which was expected to show a higher standard of magnanimity than any other, and to do so in spite of the displeasure of the rest of Europe; for it would have been said that perfidious Albion, for her own base purposes, was making friends with Napoleon, the scourge of the Continent, whom the island kingdom had never had any cause to fear. The broad back of England had to carry the opprobrium for either tyranny to Napoleon or treachery to Europe. Some thought she should bear both weights at the same time.

Napoleon himself knew that he had no case. He told Sir Pulteney Malcolm that he could not expect to be called Emperor. The conversation is excluded from Lady Malcolm's "Diary"—perhaps from political motives—but both Montchenu and Sturmer record it. Montchenu's report is dated

LE DIABLE L'EMPORTE

SOUHAIT DE LA FRANCE

French caricature of 1815

23rd July, 1816, Sturmer's 31st December, 1816. Sturmer's is the more detailed.

"*The Admiral.* 'We cannot continue to treat you as a Sovereign.'

"*Bonaparte.* 'And why not? You might leave me those honours to please me, in my position. Upon this rock, what harm can that do?'

"*The Admiral.* 'Then you should be styled Emperor?'

"*Bonaparte.* (After a moment of reflection) 'No, I abdicated.'

"*The Admiral.* 'You object to be called General?'

"*Bonaparte.* 'I have not been a General since my return from Egypt. Any other name would suit me. Let me be called Napoleon.'"

It was not the bare title that was being discussed; it was the question whether Napoleon was to be "treated" as a Sovereign, and given the "honours" of that position. The title included the status, and Napoleon knew that he had no right to expect such deference.

The suggestion that he should be called "Napoleon" was a good one, for he would have obtained the Royal distinction, without the inconvenience and irrationality of the Imperial designation. But he did not adhere to this proposal. He said to O'Meara that "the name of Napoleon was *troppo ben conosciuto*" (too well known) "and might bring back recollections which it were better should be dropped"; and in a memorandum which he gave to O'Meara to deliver to Sir Hudson Lowe he said that "while the name of 'Napoleon' did not, like 'General Bonaparte,' judge the past, it was not within the forms of society." His real objections to "Napoleon" were that it would have been a reasonable way out of a difficulty, and would have deprived him of a grievance; and that he could not formally agree to abandon the claim of his house to be regarded as one of the Royal Families of Europe.

The objection to "General Bonaparte" was justified. Napoleon was being reminded of his defeat, of the loss of his Empire and all that he had gained. It was, as he truly said, always a slap in the face. Sir Hudson Lowe himself at last put an end to the offensive phrase. In a letter to Bertrand of the 6th October, 1817, he announced that he would in future use the name "Napoleon Bonaparte." There was much to be said in its favour: it was the form used by the Powers, and enjoined upon the Commissioners; and, in point of fact, the complaints on this point were henceforth less violent. For the last three and a half years of his life Napoleon was spared the irritation of hearing himself styled "General Bonaparte." That insulting designation should never have been adopted; but the refusal of the title of Emperor was inevitable and necessary.

7. *The Limits*

Napoleon's limits extended, as has been shown, over a range of about twelve miles, reduced, for a time, by Sir Hudson Lowe to eight miles. He could wander over that circuit free from the company of any English attendant. Within that area there was a space, about four miles in circuit, the Longwood domain, which no stranger could enter, where Napoleon was safe from undesired companions. He could go all over the island accompanied by an English officer.

These large spaces given for exercise, and for privacy, were denounced as totally inadequate. First Cockburn, and then Lowe, received demands for the abolition of all limits. Jamestown, perhaps, might be excluded, and the actual seashore. Otherwise the French expected to be allowed "to ramble over the island without restraint." The responsibility for the custody of Napoleon would then have devolved entirely upon the Navy.

The Duke of Wellington, twenty years later, said that if he had been in command he would have guarded the landing-

places, "insisted upon Napoleon showing himself to an English officer every night and morning, and for the rest of the time let him go wherever he pleased." The opinion of the Duke has always carried so much weight that this judgment has been regarded as a final decision against the regulations of Colonel Wilks, Sir George Cockburn, and Sir Hudson Lowe. Wellington did not know that his plan had been tried, and that the preliminary condition upon which he insisted had been ascertained to be unobtainable. Lord Bathurst in a dispatch of the 28th September, 1818, authorized Sir Hudson Lowe to abolish all limits except Jamestown, if Napoleon would consent to show himself twice a day.[1] The offer was made by Sir Hudson Lowe, but no answer to it was ever given. No hopes, or threats, no influence of any kind whatever, could have made Napoleon present himself for inspection at stated hours. If the Duke of Wellington had been Governor, he would, like Cockburn and Lowe, have been forced to confine the prisoner within prescribed limits.

With the whole island to wander over unaccompanied, Napoleon would have been able to keep his captors in a constant state of anxiety as to his whereabouts; he could have disappeared altogether, for days at a time. As many soldiers would have been required to hunt him up when he was lost, as were necessary to guard him at Longwood; while there would have been frequent rumours of his escape, which would have kept Europe in a constant state of unrest and alarm. Even assuming that escape by sea could have been prevented, by increasing the naval squadron and keeping a close watch along the whole coast of the island, such additional naval vigilance would not have derogated from the necessity of having a sufficient military force at disposal for searches inland. The Imperial dignity might not have permitted an indulgence in any such game of hide and seek, but the obligation of being prepared for it remained, for its incidents would have reverberated over a terrified Europe.

[1] B.M., 20123, p. 164.

Limits of some kind there had to be, and it cannot be said that the prisoner's freedom of movement was unnecessarily restricted, even when Sir Hudson Lowe, in October, 1816, reduced the exterior boundary from twelve miles to eight. The original area was afterwards restored, and later on Lowe opened still greater spaces. Napoleon's habits were not affected in any way by these changes. The portion cut off by Lowe in October, 1816, had not been used for eight months; the subsequent restoration was ignored. Napoleon ceased to go into Fisher's Valley when the novelty had worn off, and he never returned to it at any time during the last five years of his life. He remained either indoors or within Longwood grounds, after the first period of exploration, because it bored him to go further afield. He behaved in exactly the same way at Elba; after a preliminary bout of feverish expeditions in every direction he gave up outdoor exercise, and emerged from the house only for his drives to see the work progressing on his country cottage.

With the question of limits is bound up that of the sentries. Around the Longwood boundary of four miles, four sentries were placed in the daytime. A quarter of an hour after the sunset gun twenty-eight sentries closed round the garden enclosure, which had a circuit of nearly a mile and a half.[1] At 9 p.m. sixteen sentries surrounded the house. There was a guard of sixteen men at Longwood gate by day, at twilight forty-two; at night forty-two. There was a picket at the stables of twenty-three by day and fourteen at night.

The number of sentries by day was plainly inadequate. Lowe, in a dispatch to Lord Bathurst of the 2nd April, 1818, reported that four sailors of the *Vansittart*, East Indiaman, had entered the grounds of Longwood from the side of the camp, through the Company's garden, unperceived by the sentries; they were turned out by the orderly officer. He added that it was always possible for such entrances to be

[1] B.M., 20125, p. 75. The number of paces was given by Captain Blakeney as 2356. B.M., 20208, p. 298.

made in the daytime. But he did not increase the sentries; on the contrary, the officer in charge of the guard at Longwood reported on the 15th February, 1820, that the sentries by day were only three.[1] When Napoleon wished to emerge from the Longwood domain he could not have been incommoded by the presence of three or four sentries in a space of four miles in circuit.

The pickets and sentries round the twelve-mile limits were, in November, 1817, as follows:—

1.	Turk's Cap	pickets	4	sentries	1
2.	Gregory's Valley	,,	4	,,	1
3.	Gregory's Battery	,,	5	,,	1
4.	Left Horse Point	,,	4	,,	1
5.	Right Horse Point	,,	8	,,	2
6.	Holdfast Tom				
7.	Mason's Garden	,,	7	,,	2
8.	Mason's Stock House	,,	8	,,	1
9.	Above Miss Mason's	,,	7	,,	2
10.	Arno's Vale	,,	4	,,	1
11.	Hutt's Gate	,,	4	,,	1
12.	Above Dr. Kay's	,,	4	,,	1
13.	Below Alarm House	,,	7	,,	2
			66	,,	16

The total of eighty-two included one subaltern, six sergeants, and eight corporals.[2]

The guards in the daytime were, therefore:—

Around the twelve-mile boundary	82
Around the Longwood domain	4
Longwood Guard	16
Stables	23
Total	125[3]

[1] B.M., 20122, p. 8; 20129, p. 145.
[2] *Ibid.*, 20225, p. 14.
[3] In July, 1816, the number had been 130, with a different distribution. Record Office, C.O., 247, 5.

At night:—

Around Longwood House . . .	16
Longwood Guard	42
Stables	14
Total	72

In addition there were twenty-four men and an officer at the telegraph posts, ten in number.

Napoleon could roam freely over a circle of twelve miles by day, until sunset; then until 9 p.m. he could walk in the dark within a boundary of 1½ miles; at 9 p.m. he had to be indoors. So long as he was to be considered a prisoner no greater liberty could have been expected.

8. *Visitors*

Sir George Cockburn at first prohibited all visits to Longwood without written permission from himself, Colonel Wilks, or Sir George Bingham.[1] The vehement and reiterated protests of Napoleon induced him, on the 31st December, 1815, to issue an order that a written pass from Bertrand would be sufficient; it was to be left with the guard, and forwarded thence to Cockburn on the following day. Bertrand at that time lived at Hutt's Gate, about a mile and a half from Longwood. Cockburn was given to understand that the privilege would be used only for invitations to dinner, but the result was that Bertrand gave passes to all sympathizers and his house became an outpost of Napoleonic influence.

In a despatch to Lord Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote: "Sir George Cockburn himself saw the inconvenience resulting from this, and told me, had he foreseen Bertrand's house at Longwood would have been so long constructing, he should not have given him the latitude he then possessed, and said he thought I ought to put some restraint upon the com-

[1] B.M., 20115, p. 280.

munication with him." Cockburn had been worried into giving an excessive indulgence, but he let matters stand pending the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe.

The instructions to Sir Hudson Lowe, of the 12th September, 1815, said "that he" (Napoleon) "should not by any means escape or hold communication with any person whatever (excepting through your agency) must be your unremitted care." The orders of Bathurst and the experience of Cockburn united to force Lowe to withdraw from Bertrand the excessive privilege which had been temporarily accorded to him, and which he had abused.

Six weeks later, on the 17th June, came the Commissioners, whose presence added so much to Lowe's difficulties. On the 21st July they sent him a request to be presented to Napoleon. On the 23rd Lowe wrote to Bertrand asking for permission to present them. No direct answer was received, but it was ascertained that Napoleon declined to receive them officially, and Lowe would not give them passes as individuals. Then, on the 27th August, Napoleon made the mistake of instructing Montholon to write a letter, in which, after complaining of the refusal to allow Bertrand to give passes, he said :—

"In the event, Sir, of your persisting in the system you have adopted, which is for us equivalent to being placed upon an absolutely deserted rock, I beg you not to give any pass to enter Longwood, either to persons domiciled on the island, or to officers, or to strangers—excepting it be workmen, tradesmen, and persons required for the service ; for, in that event, the Emperor protests and does not wish to see any persons who are unable to enter Longwood without your passports, which at the same time authorizes those who have them to roam around the house of Longwood, which incommodes the Emperor in his walks without being of advantage to anybody."

Napoleon hoped to force Lowe to allow Bertrand to give

valid passes, which would have been used to admit the Commissioners as private persons. Lowe replied, on the 29th, that he regretted Napoleon had been incommoded; that he always ascertained from Bertrand that a visitor would be received before giving him a passport. It was not in his power to allow Bertrand to issue valid passes, as his instructions forbade such an indulgence.

Napoleon now perceived the false step he had taken, for he had made it appear that he did not want visitors. He sent for Poppleton, who reported to Lowe as follows: "He said he had been told that it was said in the camp that he did not wish to see the officers of the regiment, and he therefore begged that I, as senior Captain, would explain to the officers that he had never expressed such sentiments; that, on the contrary, he esteemed them as brave men and good soldiers, and should be always happy to see them; and begged I would say, if it was so understood by them, that it was false. He likewise said that he was told some orders had been given to the regiment not to hold communication with him. My answer was simply, that I knew of no such order, and that I believed the whole of his information was without the smallest foundation. He was in a very good humour, and we parted with a great deal of civility on his part."

Napoleon was trying to undo the effects of his complaint. As Lowe said, in his reply to Poppleton, "He has placed a restraint upon himself by the letter you brought me from Count Montholon, and now wishes to release himself from it by means that are indirect." A day or two later, on the 5th September, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Sir Pulteney Malcolm and also to Sir George Bingham, that as Napoleon had complained of "having been incommoded by the appearance of strangers about his house I have suspended giving any further passes; and take the liberty of requesting your being so obliging as to follow the same course."[1]

[1] B.M., 20116, p. 12.

Balmain reported these events to his Government, on the 1st December, 1816, as follows: "No sooner had Count Montholon's note been forwarded to Sir Hudson Lowe than Bonaparte seemed to repent of his determination with regard to us. He became morose and dreamy, and was for several days of an intractable humour; not that he contemplated the possibility of receiving us as Commissioners (his decision on that point is irrevocably taken, never will he recognize himself the prisoner of any of the Powers), but he was annoyed at not being able to see us at all. Hostile to the English, weary of his solitude, often overcome with ennui, he had need of us to break the monotony of his existence. He knew, besides, that a more moderate reply on his part would sooner or later have arranged this affair to his entire satisfaction, and he reproached himself for having ended it abruptly in such a way that he could not draw back."

Sturmer and Montchenu reported to their Governments in a similar sense. All agreed that Lowe could not be expected to allow Bertrand to give passes; and that Napoleon regretted, but was too obstinate to withdraw, his demand that Lowe should send no more visitors to Longwood.

When Bertrand moved into his new house at Longwood, on the 20th October, 1816, the dispute as to his passes came to an end, for he was himself inside the barrier. No obstacle was placed in the way of visitors to Longwood, and they went up continually. For example, in the month of March, 1818, there were forty-four visits from persons of good social position.[1] Napoleon did not himself receive any of them, but he might have done so if he had desired. The insular English, few of whom could speak French, had no attractions for him. He would have been glad to talk to any of the three Commissioners, but his refusal to see them officially made it impossible for the Governor to present them as private persons, for that would have been to accept Napoleon's statement that he was not the prisoner of Europe. And as

[1] B.M., 20208, p. 192.

Lowe himself was not admitted by Napoleon, the Commissioners of the Allies could not, and did not, expect to be allowed an intimacy which was denied to the British representatives.

9. *Correspondence*

Napoleon demanded complete freedom of all correspondence, both beyond the island and within it. He asserted that, if he was to be treated as a prisoner of war, he was entitled to that privilege—an absurd statement. Prisoners of war, like all prisoners, have to submit to a supervision over their correspondence. When, in defiance of the usage of all civilized nations, Napoleon seized all British visitors in France and detained them, expressly as prisoners of war, he ordered a censorship over their correspondence, as well as a total deprivation of all English newspapers ;[1] and these were civilian travellers, men, women, and children. It was according to the universal rule that all the correspondence of Napoleon and his followers should be examined by the British guardians.

Napoleon succeeded, in the earlier period of his captivity, in transmitting secret correspondence to Europe, with the assistance of O'Meara, Balcombe, and some of the captains of ships. It did not consist of family letters but political effusions for publication. When Lowe had got rid of O'Meara and Balcombe, the traffic became so difficult that, in May, 1819, Napoleon had to offer to Captain Ripley, of the E.I.C.'s *Regent*, as much as £600 to take a private letter to England, which Ripley refused. Lowe had practically put an end to this clandestine correspondence.

With regard to inland correspondence Lowe, on the 11th May, 1816, issued a public notice repeating what Colonel Wilks had said, in his proclamation of the 17th October, 1815, interdicting all unauthorized communications with

[1] "Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives," by J. G. Alger, pp. 176, 205, 222.

TENEZ LE BIEN

A French caricature of September, 1815

Napoleon and his followers. Soon after the arrival of the Commissioners the attempt, already related, was made to pass a sealed letter from Madame Bertrand to the Marquis de Montchenu. The Austrian Commissioner wrote to Metternich, on the 31st October, 1817: "They took advantage of the dispositions of the Governor to push still further their pretensions. They declared that Bonaparte would not go out of the house until he had obtained permission to correspond freely in the island without the supervision of the Governor. Now that was impossible. The Governor having spoken to me about it, I observed to him that one might as well allow Napoleon to send out private couriers, for the man who is able to send letters freely on the island can do the same with his foreign correspondence. Bonaparte, therefore, cannot leave the house, that is the conclusion drawn at Longwood."

This testimony from the Austrian Commissioner, who was not on good terms with Sir Hudson Lowe, is sufficient to reveal the Continental opinion on this matter. Even when he was an independent sovereign at Elba, all Napoleon's correspondence that fell into the hands of the Continental post officials was not only read, but confiscated. The King of Elba was cut off from all direct postal communication. He had to send out couriers with his letters, and to make secret arrangements for the forwarding of the replies. If the British Government had transmitted Napoleon's correspondence, sealed, from St. Helena to the Continent, the seals would have been broken by the Continental authorities, and the letters would have been confiscated, while perfidious Albion would have been accused of secret machinations against the peace of Europe.

Napoleon had no right to expect free correspondence. He desired it only for the purpose of disseminating attacks upon his guardians.

10. *Provisions*

In the time of Sir George Cockburn there was no fixed limit to the expense that might be incurred on behalf of Napoleon and his party. Whatever was wanted was sent up to The Briars, or Longwood. The consequent extravagance was prodigious. At The Briars, Cipriani one day demanded the brains of four bullocks for a dish, and Cockburn had to refuse permission.[1] The Rev. B. J. Vernon, the junior chaplain, says: "At first supplies were on an unlimited scale, but the consumption of wines, etc., was incredible, and it was found an enormous quantity had been daily thrown away, and that a spirit of reckless extravagance reigned throughout."[2]

When Sir Hudson Lowe arrived the question of expense had not been settled. On the 17th June he received a dispatch, in which Lord Bathurst said that the expenditure on the Longwood establishment was not to exceed £8000 a year; any expense beyond that sum would have to be met by Napoleon himself. "That he can command the pecuniary means I apprehend there is no doubt; and he must pay the salaries and wages of such of his followers and servants as may persevere in remaining with him; but I hope you will persuade most of them to accept the release we have offered them." But as none of the followers could bring themselves to say that they wished to desert their master, the £8000 a year was obviously inadequate.

Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 5th September, 1816, instructed Major Gorrequer to discuss the matter with Montholon. Poppleton was taken as a witness, and O'Meara also was present. Gorrequer began by observing that the British Government had not expected Napoleon would have so large an establishment, and had fixed his allowance at

[1] Brooke, T. H., "A History of the Island of St. Helena," second edition, 1824.

[2] Vernon, B. J., "Early Recollections of Jamaica," etc., 1848, p. 166.

£8000 a year, but that the Governor had taken on himself to raise that to £12,000; anything further would have to be paid for by Napoleon himself. Montholon replied that the Emperor desired to pay the whole expense of his establishment by sealed communications with mercantile houses in Europe. If that was not permitted his only resource would be to sell his plate.

Napoleon, unaware that O'Meara had been present, told him that Montholon reported that Major Gorrequer had proposed that the silver plate should be sold. O'Meara replied that he himself had heard Montholon make the suggestion. Napoleon then turned to abuse Montholon, not for lying, but as "a babbler and a fool"; and he assured O'Meara he had not authorized his follower to say anything about the plate. A day or two later he admitted to O'Meara that he had directed Montholon to talk of a sale of the plate, and it was subsequently discovered that he had expressly enjoined upon his follower to assert that it was Major Gorrequer who had proposed it.

Foiled by Lowe's forethought in having witnesses present at the interview with Montholon, Napoleon now ordered Montholon, on the 7th September, to repeat to Gorrequer that as the Emperor had no funds at disposal, and was not permitted to send sealed letters to those who would provide them, he would have to sell his plate.

Sir Hudson Lowe consulted Montholon, who checked and approved of each item in the following estimate of the necessary expenditure, dated 18th September, 1816:—[1]

[1] B.M., 20154, p. 82.

Items.	Daily.	14 Days.	£	s.	d.	Total amount. £	s.	d.
Claret (sent from England)	9 bottles	126 bottles @ 6/–	37	16	0			
Madeira	1 do.	14 do. 5/10	4	1	8			
Constantia	1 do.	14 do. 10/6	7	7	0			
Champagne from England		7 do. 10/6	3	13	6			
Vin de Grave		7 do. 6/–	2	2	0			
Teneriffe	6 do.	84 do. 4/2	17	10	0			
Cape	24 do.	336 do. 2/6	42	0	0			
Porter or Ale from England	3 do.	42 do. 1/3	2	12	6	117	2	8
Mutton	4 qrs. or not less than 30 lbs.	504 lbs. or 14 sheep @ 45/–	31	10	0			
Beef	46 lbs.	664 lbs. @ 1/4	42	18	8			
Fowls	6	84 @ 5/6	23	2	0			
Bread	60 lbs.	224 loaves of 2 lbs. each @ 1/–						
		196 do. do. @ 10d.	19	7	4			
Eggs	30	420 5d.	8	15	0			
Ducks		8 6/6	2	12	0			
Turkeys		2 25/–	2	10	0			
Geese		2 18/–	1	16	0			
Sugar (ordinary sort)	5 lbs.	70 6d.	1	15	0			
Sugar Candy	4 lbs.	56 9d.	2	2	0			
Loaf Sugar		18 2/6	2	5	0			
Cape Butter	5 lbs.	70 2/6	8	15	0			
Cheese	1 lb.	14 2/6	1	15	0			
Lard	2 lbs.	28 1/6	2	2	0			
Salad Oil	¾ pint	11 pints 6/2	3	7	10			
Vinegar	1 quart	3½ gallons 7/–	1	4	6			

Ham	2 lbs.	28 lbs.	2/6	3	10	0		
Green Tea	½ lb.	7	3/6	1	4	6		
Black Tea	½ lb.	7	2/6	0	17	6		
Coffee	2 lbs.	28	1/6	2	2	0		
Flour	5 lbs.	70	6d.	1	15	0		
Fish	6/–			4	4	0		
Fruit	10/–			7	0	0		
Vegetables	20/–			14	0	0		
Milk	10 quarts	140 quarts		4	18	0		
Spices[1]	8/–			5	12	0		
Fresh Butter, Salt, Mustard, Pepper, Capers or Pickles, Pease, etc.				7	0	0		
							209	0 4
Firewood	3 cwt.	42 cwt.	5/–	10	10	0		
Coals		45 bushels	3/4	7	10	0		
Wax Candles	8 lbs.	112 lbs.	3/3	18	4	0	36	4 0
Washing Bills				20	0	0		
Porterage of Bread and man collecting articles and packing				6	10	0		
Farrier's Bill				0	14	0	27	4 0
Expenses of the two British Officers' Mess				28	0	0		
Fresh Beef for the 8 soldier-servants at Longwood exclusive of the rations	8 lbs.	112 lbs.	@ 1/4	7	9	4		
Cape Wine for ditto	4 bottles	56 bottles	2/6	7	0	0	42	9 4
							432	0 4

[1] Sometimes called "Confectionery," which means: liqueurs, orgeat, eau de Cologne, orange-flower water, brandied and preserved fruits, jam and jelly, etc. B.M., 20145, p. 89.

The heads of expenditure were :—

Provisions, fuel, and washing, at £432 per fortnight	£11,263
Transport of above, from Jamestown	350
Forage for 13 horses; and transport of same	1,156
Wages of 8 soldier servants at £24 each	192
Clothing for above at £15 each	120
Wages of Gardener	60
Rent of Bertrand's house at Hutt's Gate	365
Two Chinese at 2s. per diem	73
Total	£13,579

The total of persons "provided as per schedule" was thirty-eight, as follows :—

Napoleon and six officers	7
Ladies	2
Children	5
Foreign male domestics	13
Foreign female domestics	3
Men servants of the island	5
Women servants of the island	3
Total	38

From this list the British officers and the British soldiers are omitted, and it is necessary, therefore, to deduct the £28 for the officers' mess and the beef and wine for the soldiers. The cost of provisions, fuel, candles, and washing would thus be £389 11s. per fortnight, or £10,128 per year, which, with the cost of transport from Jamestown, makes a total of £10,478.

The estimate gave to each of the nine principals (seven men and two women, excluding the children) one bottle of claret and one bottle of dessert wine every day, at a cost per head of 11/7 per diem. The amount of wine actually supplied for the principals for the first two quarters after the date of this estimate was as follows :—

	Quarter to 31st Dec., 1816.		To 31st March, 1817.	
Claret, bottles	830	....	816	9 per day for six months.
Champagne ,,	36	....	36	2 in five days.
Constantia ,,	92	....	90	1 per day.
Grave ,,	72	....	120	1 per day.
Madeira ,,	104	....	90	1 per day.
Port ,,	—	....	24	1 per week.
Teneriffe ,,	552	....	540	6 per day.

The actual supplies were in excess of the estimate, eighty-four bottles of champagne or graves, twenty-four of port, and twelve of Madeira being sent beyond what had been agreed upon.

Piontkowski left in October, 1816, and the two Las Cases before the end of the year, but their three bottles of claret continued to be sent to Longwood every day, and the total supply of dessert wines for the quarter after they left, which was two days shorter than the December quarter, showed an increase from 856 bottles to 900 bottles. As the principals had fallen to six persons (two of them ladies) the supply now amounted to a bottle and a half of claret and a bottle and a half of dessert wine per head each day. This amount was so excessive that the six shilling claret was used for cooking, and the cases of unopened champagne and dessert wine accumulated.

The domestics, male and female, white and black, had a bottle of Cape wine each, at a cost of 2s. 6d. The English soldiers were allowed only half a bottle each.

If these facts had been known England would have been accused of trying to tempt Napoleon and his followers to end their lives by indulging in orgies of intemperance, and yet this supply of wine was small compared with what Cockburn had allowed. The bills he passed in February and March, 1816, allocated £252 per fortnight for wine, which is more than double the extravagant £117 2s. 8d. allowed by Lowe.

The meat supply was 82 lbs. of beef and mutton for

thirty-eight persons, of whom five were children (one of them a baby in arms). This gives more than 2 lbs. of butcher's meat per head per day, which can only be regarded as wanton extravagance. In addition there were six fowls a day, and each week one ham of 14 lbs., four ducks, one goose, and one turkey. Cockburn had given even more. He sent up 96 lbs. of beef and mutton, nine fowls, and two ducks every day; and every fortnight eight roasting pigs, besides the turkeys and geese. These absurd figures were outdone by Lowe later on. The number of persons fell to twenty-eight, but they were supposed to consume more even than the ravenous thirty-eight. They had 96 lbs. of beef and mutton (more than 3 lbs. per head per day), and nine fowls per day, and nine hams up to 14 lbs. each every fortnight. In addition there was: on Sunday, one roasting pig; Monday, one turkey; Tuesday, one goose; Wednesday, two ducks; Thursday, one turkey; Friday, one goose; Saturday, two ducks.

All the supplies were on the same extravagant scale. Thirty 2-lb. loaves and 11 lbs. of sugar were sent up each day for thirty-eight persons.

As the numbers fell off the quantities increased. In August, 1817, the cost was £12,713, in January, 1818, it was £14,592.

As wine and meat were the two most expensive items, we may consider the four children and one baby, whose consumption must have been small, as equivalent to two adults. The estimate of September, 1816, may thus be regarded as providing for eleven adults. The cost of an adult may be estimated from the allowance of £1 a day each, or £730 a year for the two, which Sir Hudson Lowe gave the British officers, who had previously been allowed only £672 a year for the two.[1] On that basis the eleven adults would cost £11 a day.

The cost of the domestics may be gauged from the fact that

[1] B.M., 20123, p. 179.

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK'S FAMOUS CARICATURE

Published in August, 1815

the two "tradesmen" sent from England to work upon the new house were paid 6s. a day, a high wage, showing that they were superior men, with an allowance of 6s. 6d. for board and lodging. It is not probable that 6s. of this would go for board alone, but taking that excessive estimate and applying it to the sixteen French domestics, male and female, at Longwood, we get an expenditure of £4 19s. 6d. a day. The natives of St. Helena, five men and three women, would not cost 5s. a day each. However, at 5s. their keep would be £2 a day.

The daily cost of the establishment would be, on this very liberal scale, £11 plus £4 19s. 6d. plus £2, or £17 19s. 6d., say £18 a day, which amounts to £6570 per annum. The estimate, as we have seen, was £10,478, leaving a surplus for waste of as much as £3908 a year.

Lord Bathurst, on receiving Lowe's estimate of the 15th September, authorized him, in a despatch of the 22nd November, 1816, to incur such additional charge as should leave no possible ground for complaint. This practically meant *carte blanche*. Sir Hudson Lowe provided whatever was demanded.

Napoleon was not to be baulked of his theatrical stroke. He was bent upon posing as a half-starved prisoner. On the 19th September, he gave orders that part of his silver plate was to be beaten into a mass and the eagles torn off, preparatory to a sale. In due course the defaced silver was taken to Jamestown and sold, and it was followed by two further consignments. The account of Balcombe, Cole & Co. is as follows :—[1]

1816, Oct. 15, 952 ounces of silver received from Cipriani at 5/0/½	£239	19	8
Nov. 15, 1227¼ do. do.	309	7	4¼
Dec. 30, 2048 do. do.	516	7	10¼
	1065	14	10¾

[1] B.M., 20221, p. 139.

We know now that Napoleon had a large sum of gold at this time at Longwood. The sale of his plate was one of his most successful stage effects. It excited much interest in Europe. At St. Helena the event was appreciated at its true worth. O'Meara, in one of those contemporary letters of his which are so inconsistent with what he concocted afterwards in his notorious "Voice," wrote to Sir Thomas Reade, on the 23rd September, 1816 :—

"The object they have in view in this is very evident, and does not require me to point it out to you." To Mr. Finlaison he wrote: "In this Napoleon had also a wish to excite an odium against the Governor, by saying that he had been obliged to sell his plate in order to provide against starvation, as he himself told me was his object." He then continued: "You perhaps are not aware of the French mode of living and their cookery; they have in fact two dinners every day—one at eleven or twelve o'clock to which joints, roast, and boiled, with all their various hashes, ragouts, fricassees, etc., are served up, with wine and liqueurs, and another at 8 p.m., which only differs from the first in being supplied with more dishes. Besides these two meals, they all have (except Bonaparte himself, who only eats twice a day, certainly very heartily) something like an English breakfast in bed, at between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and a luncheon with wine at four or five in the afternoon. The common notion of the English eating more animal food than the French is most incorrect; I am convinced that between their two dinners and luncheon they consume three or four times as much as any English family composed of a similar number of persons. These two dinners then, the first of which they have separately in their respective rooms, cause a great consumption of meat and wine, which, together with their mode of cookery, require a great quantity of oil or butter—both of which are excessively dear in this place (and you may as well attempt to deprive an Irishman of potatoes as a

Frenchman of his oil, or some substitute for it). Their *soupes consommées* (for they are, except one or two, the greatest gluttons and epicures I ever saw), producing great waste of meat in a place where the necessaries of life are so dear, altogether render necessary a very great expenditure of money daily."

O'Meara here asserts that the French at Longwood were the greatest gluttons and epicures he ever saw, consuming three or four times as much as English people would have done. In the "Voice" he suggests that they were half-starved.

It is characteristic of the wastefulness of British methods that, the supplies of wine and provisions once settled, no reductions were made when the numbers at Longwood fell off, except in the Cape wine for the servants; when three of them left it was thought imprudent to continue to send up their three bottles. But Gourgaud's departure in February, 1818, was ignored, just as that of Piontkowski and the two Las Cases had been. The number of principals was now only five, but the original nine bottles of claret and nine of dessert continued to make their regular appearance. Indeed the lessening of numbers stirred the British authorities to still greater excesses in the provisions.

At last, in March, 1818, Montholon was driven to expostulate. He told Gorrequer that too much claret, Constantia, and Teneriffe wine was being supplied, as well as unnecessary quantities of meat and bread. He said the wine was accumulating, and it would be better for them to apply for it when wanted. "Almost every time," he said to Gorrequer, "that Mr. Darling comes here he asks, 'Have you enough wine? Is there anything you want?' and I always say in reply, that we have no further requirements. We have no reproaches against the Governor; we do not complain of anything, and we have abundance of all that is needed."

Montholon said the same to Lowe himself, on the 16th October, 1818, in the presence of Major Gorrequer. He said it gave him pleasure to recognize that he, the Governor, had paid every possible attention to the provisioning of Longwood, and that they had nothing further to wish for.

Sir Hudson Lowe was obliged to send up more than was necessary, to prevent all possible excuse for complaint, until the French became ashamed of their complaining. Dr. Verling, in his affidavit in the case of "Lowe versus O'Meara," declared that both Montholon and Madame Bertrand had said to him that, "too much had been said about the scarcity of provisions at Longwood" by Santini and O'Meara, and that Napoleon himself "had expressed a similar opinion." Piontkowski, in a letter to Sir Robert Wilson, also repudiated the extravagant assertions of Santini. He wrote: "It is the Emperor himself who fixed the quantity of wine for the officers of his suite, and not the Governor; and the officers of his suite have never complained of the *quantity* of provisions but sometimes of the *quality*, and of the lack of good water and bread."[1] The supplies could not be consumed and the result was, peculation on the part of the purveyor, waste on the part of the cooks, and general thieving by all who had the opportunity.

With regard to the quality of the provisions, Major Gorrequer, in a long statement about the supplies, wrote: "The highest price was always paid to ensure good butcher's meat (i.e. island beef when supplied). The purveyor had tonnage appropriated to him for the purpose of importing cattle, sheep, poultry, and all other kinds of stock and provisions, by every Government vessel which went to the Cape or other places for supplies, and which, had he fully availed himself of, would have enabled him to obtain all those articles at perhaps one-third, or at least one-half, of the island prices. As a proof how little restricted the purveyor was in the price of the supplies of Longwood, notwithstanding

[1] "A Polish Exile," p. 235.

a salary of £500 per annum, and the means afforded him of importing, free of freight, the annexed paper will show that he charged the retail price upon articles which ought to have been procured at a price much below that of the dealers. But would it have been just towards the inhabitants, the navy and military, ships taking in refreshments, and strangers arriving in the island, that the purveyor should have been left to his own discretion to pay any price for articles of consumption, merely because they were for General Bonaparte's establishment, and that he knew Government would repay him, thus enhancing the market prices to the prejudice of others ? "

The " annexed paper " to which Gorrequer refers, shows that the purveyor charged the island prices, although he was in a position to import free of freight. For fowls the purveyor charged 5s. 6d. though the current price was 5s. Gorrequer continues : " The steward of Plantation House, where the greatest consumption takes place, was always found (whenever questioned on the prices of poultry) to pay less than the purveyor ; since the purveyorship was put into other hands the price of fowls has never exceeded 5s., and those of approved description."

Napoleon several times observed to his followers that Balcombe was feathering his nest, not that he was himself a *voleur*, but that he employed them—which in such a case is the same thing. He said that if he were to himself pay the expenses of the establishment he would not employ Balcombe. England had to pay the purveyor excessive prices, for goods which were probably not all delivered, in order that there should be no possible excuse for complaint.

Though the prices paid were always the highest, the quality was not always what might have been desired, though it is possible that complaints on this head were seldom justified in regard to what was sent to Napoleon's own table. In any case Longwood got the absolute best that could be obtained, not excluding even the hospital. Baxter, deputy inspector

of hospitals, was obliged to send Major Gorrequer a written complaint, for the Governor, "to request his interference in the universal and sweeping monopoly of the contracts for Longwood. I think it but fair that a sufficient quantity of milk for the use of the sick of the 53rd Regiment should be supplied by the same farmer who before furnished it, provided the surgeon of the regiment pays the same price as the contractors."

The best of everything went to Longwood, and the rest of the inhabitants, old and young, well or ill, had to suffer accordingly. A special poultry farm was established near Longwood for the fattening of fowls, geese, and turkeys; and arrangements were made for the stall-feeding of cattle, and for the supply of fresh vegetables, all for Longwood, exclusively. Whenever a complaint of the quality of any article supplied reached Lowe, he wrote in peremptory tone to the purveyor, to remedy the defect at once and see that it did not recur.

In short, the quantity of wine and provisions sent up to Longwood was far in excess of requirements, entailing prodigious waste and thieving; the quality was the best to be obtained, special measures being taken to send to Longwood provisions which no other inhabitant of the island could obtain.

The charge brought against the British Government of meanness in the matter of supplies sent to Longwood, is in itself one of the meanest in all the long list of St. Helena falsehoods—and that is saying a good deal.

The case against the British Government breaks down on all the chief heads, except that, though the title of Emperor could not be given, that of "General Bonaparte" should never have been adopted; and Sir Hudson Lowe, though an admirable choice in other respects, was deficient in social glamour.

Napoleon was most fortunate—as he well knew—to be in

British hands. Death or a fortress were the only alternatives anywhere on the Continent of Europe. Assassination was what he feared in the United States. It was to escape these dangers that he fled to the safety of the *Bellerophon*, and he never regretted his choice. In the hard and cruel world of a hundred years ago, England gave an example to mankind of humanity to a fallen enemy.

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The Romance of an Elderly Poet: A Hitherto Unknown Chapter in the Life of George Crabbe. By A. M. Broadley and Walter Jerrold. Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with many illustrations, 10s. 6d. net.

This volume, based upon a series of letters extending over the ten years from 1815-1825, which the poet wrote to Elizabeth Charter, one of the "six female friends, unknown to each other, but all dear, very dear to me," reveals Crabbe in something of a new light. The period is that during which he was Vicar of Trowbridge, whither he removed after his wife's death, and the book shows the elderly writer ever toying with the thought of remarriage. The widower was for a time actually engaged to one lady, and he proposed marriage, also, to Miss Elizabeth Charter, the central "female friend" of this volume, which includes details concerning the social life of Bath and the neighbourhood during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Polly Peachum. The Story of Lavinia Fenton, Duchess of Bolton, and "The Beggar's Opera." By Charles E. Pearce. Author of "The Amazing Duchess," "The Beloved Princess," etc. **Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, illustrated, 16s. net.**

The history of the stage can show no more remarkable career than that of the fascinating and lovable "Polly Peachum," otherwise Lavinia Fenton, Duchess of Bolton. Described as "nobody's daughter," Polly leaped at a bound into fame, and her star blazed with undimmed lustre during the brief time she was the idol of the public. "Polly Peachum" will, of course, be identified with Gay's "Beggar's Opera," a work which occupies a unique place in theatrical annals, not only because it was the first—and best—of English ballad operas, but because for nearly a century and a-half it maintained its attractiveness with never fading freshness. A vast amount of material bearing upon "The Beggar's Opera" and its heroine exists in contemporary records, and this material, including much not hitherto published, has been now brought together in a connected form. Eighteenth century stage life is notable for its vitality, and the aim of the author has been to draw a picture of the times. The volume will contain numerous illustrations after Hogarth, and others from the unrivalled collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley.

The Queens of Aragon: Their Lives and Times. By E. L. MIRON. Author of "Duchess Derelict: the Wife of Cesare Borgia." Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, fully illustrated, 16s. net.

This work deals with the lives of the twenty-six ladies who were queen-consorts of Aragon from the time of the erection of that state into a separate kingdom in the eleventh century, until its absorption into United Spain by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Through the book move many unfamiliar figures of Royal ladies, the period of their lives being covered by the continual conflict between the Cross and the Crescent on the soil of Moorish Spain. Later, when the Cross had triumphed, we see the Queens of Aragon, apparently in the background of history, yet actually paramount in their husbands' councils, sharing the fatigues of campaigns and some of them giving birth to their children amid the perils and clamour of armed camps. The lives of these queens came in stormy times; yet there were peaceful episodes also, when politics and strife were put aside, when the ladies sat in their boudoirs, or rode forth into the country, falcon on wrist, or sought shelter from their troubles in the cloister and the convent.

The characters of these queens were as diverse as their fortunes. In this volume, therefore, we read in turn of gay brilliance and shadowed unhappiness, of success and dismal defeat.

Napoleon in Exile at Elba, 1814-1815. By NORWOOD YOUNG, Author of "The Growth of Napoleon," "The Story of Rome," etc., with a chapter on the Iconography of Napoleon at Elba, by A. M. BROADLEY, Author of "Napoleon in Caricature," "The Royal Miracle," etc. Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with coloured frontispiece and fifty illustrations from the collection of A. M. Broadley, 21s. net.

This work will be a record of the residence of Napoleon in the Isle of Elba during the exile which followed his abdication at Fontainebleau on April the 11th, 1814, and continued from May the 3rd following until February the 26th, 1815. It will be published on the 31st of March, 1914, the centenary of the entry of the Allies into Paris.

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Essentially Maximilian was a dreamer of dreams. Full of religious enthusiasm, he vainly aspired to become Pope as well as Emperor, and so rule the world in peace and righteousness. In the last years of his life he sought a tangible expression of the visions of his youth in the splendid sepulchre at Innsbruck, where stand as silent watchers round his tomb that marvellous company of mythical heroes whom he had imagined as his ancestry. But his most touching memorial stands in the love and devotion of his people, who, after the passing of centuries still remember him in Folk-song and tradition as "the well-beloved Kaiser Max."

This book, while centring, of course, round the life of its hero, gives a vivid picture of European history and life in the fifteenth century.

A Vagabond Courtier (Baron von Pölnitz). By EDITH E. CUTHELL, F.R.HIST.S. Author of "Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth," "An Imperial Victim," etc. Two vols., demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with photogravure and other illustrations, 24s. net.

In "The Virginians" Thackeray gives a misleading and somewhat spiteful sketch of the seedy German Baron von Pölnitz at Tunbridge Wells.

As a boy Baron Charles Louis von Pölnitz, of whom Mrs. Cuthell writes this most interesting biography, fought at the battle of Oudenarde, went on an embassy to Charles XVI., and as a page saw the crowning of Prussia's first king. In later life he was dragged into a whirlpool of dissipation in the set of the Regent of Orleans at Paris, and was soon rendered penniless. In a state of constant poverty he visited almost every court in Europe, finding himself welcomed for his wit, his agreeable talk, and his charm of manner.

Mrs. Cuthell tells of his travels in England (where he was a frequenter of the Cocoa Tree Coffee House) and in Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. She describes his love-affairs, his misfortunes, adventures, and imprisonment, and criticizes also his literary works, which, written in delightful and unimpeachable French, delighted Europe and ran into many editions.

Mrs. Cuthell's book will be especially welcome since the Baron, although a friend of the Emperor Frederick the Great, his father, and his sister, Margravine of Baireuth, and the Regent d'Orleans, has hitherto escaped biography.

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Earl Bathurst has in his possession a large quantity of Mary's letters, which he has allowed Miss Sandars to use, and the Duke of Portland's papers at Welbeck have also been placed at her disposal. The Earl of Orkney has kindly allowed the publishers to reproduce two portraits from his collection which have never previously been published. This book, therefore, ought to prove a highly important historical monograph, of something like permanent interest.

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With a preface by Dr. F. A. HEDGCOCK. (The book for which a committee of Parisian ladies awarded the prize of £200 for the best French novel published in 1911.)

This "poignant and convincing narrative" tells of a young ambitious man who is overwhelmed by the dread of impending disaster. He struggles to free himself, but only becomes more deeply entrapped. In his misery and dread there comes as "Life's Last Gift" a romantic passion which cannot be requited but estranges him for a time from those most dear, and then leaves him to turn with a renewal of faith to the arms which he has shunned.

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MAY WYNNE

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G. VILLIERS STUART

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Maggie of Margate. GABRIELLE WODNIL

Author of "Brineta at Brighton."

"Maggie of Margate," a beautiful girl with an unobtrusive style which attracted nine men out of ten, was in reality an exclusive lady of title, bored because she sighed for realism and romance while affianced to a prospective peer. Maggie is a delightful creation, and her very erring frailty and duplicity make us pity her the more. She cannot break away finally from her social status, but to retain it she nearly breaks her heart. The man of her fancy, Michael Blair, is the most striking figure in the whole story, which holds us intently from the first page to the last. All the world loves a lover, and, therefore, every one will love Michael Blair.

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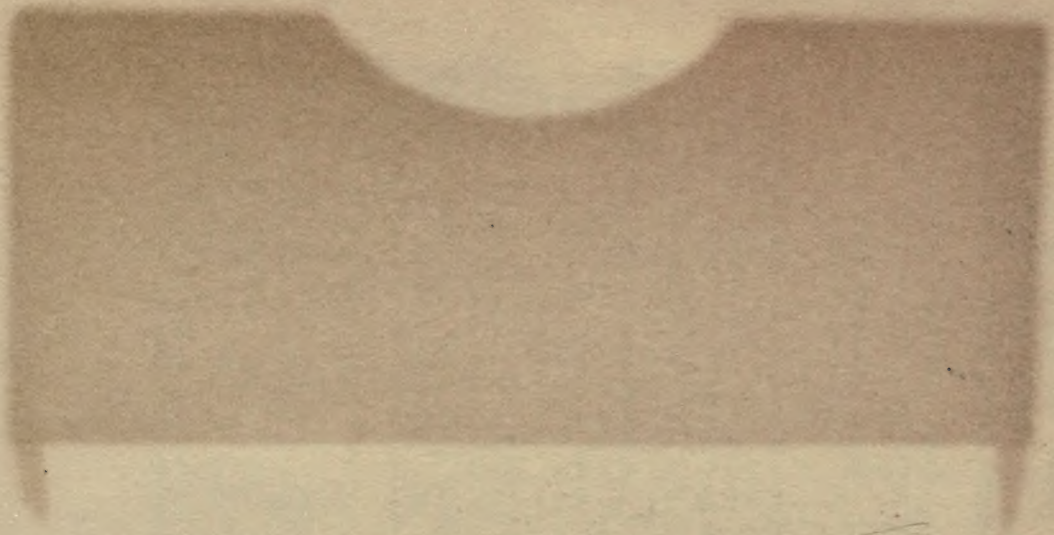

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